DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 075 556 UD 013 547

AUTHOR	Perry, George; Kopperman, Nancy
TITLE	A Better Chance: Evaluation of Student Attitudes and Academic Performance, 1964-1972.
INSTITUTION	A Better Chance, Inc., Boston, Mass.
SPONS AGENCY	Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, New York, N.Y.; Henry Luce Foundation, New York, N. Y.; New York Community Trust, N.Y.
PUB DATE	Mar 73
NOTE	293p.
AVAILABLE FROM	A Better Chance, Inc., 376 Boyleston Street, Boston, Mass. 02116 (Price not available)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$9.87
DESCRIPTORS	*Academic Achievement; Academic Aspiration; Changing Attitudes; *College Admission; *Compensatory Education Programs; Disadvantaged Youth; Individual Power; Parent Student Relationship; Political Attitudes; *Program Evaluation; Race Relations; Racial Attitudes; Secondary School Students; Self Concept; *Student Attitudes

ABSTRACT

The goal of the "A Better Chance" (ABC) program was to have talented students who would otherwise be frustrated by poverty, attend competitive secondary schools, colleges, and graduate schools and attain positions of leadership. The research project examined the attitudes of ABC students in the areas of aspirations, fate-control (the degree to which they felt they were guiding their own destiny), self-concept, racial relations, and relationships to home. It also assessed their academic performance during high school and college, and their post-college activities. During the time they were enrolled in member schools, the attitudes of ABC students underwent some changes. Two areas in which the attitude changes of ABC students differed from the control group were the self-esteem and racial beliefs. One thousand nine hundred and sixteen ABC students (1,640 in independent schools and 276 in Public School Programs) were scheduled to complete secondary school by June, 1972. ABC students attended colleges much more selective than the national average, but the control group attended colleges similar in selectivity to the national average. Of the 1916 students scheduled to graduate by June 1972, the program had the net effect of increasing the proportion who entered college by 32 percent and increasing the selectivity of the college entered among nearly half the others. (Author/JM)

ED 075556

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
A Better Chance, Inc., Boston, Mass.
TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

A BETTER CHANCE:

EVALUATION OF STUDENT ATTITUDES

AND ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

1964-1972

RESEARCH CO-ORDINATOR: GEORGE A. PERRY

RESEARCH ASSOCIATE: NANCY KOPPERMAN

THIS STUDY WAS FUNDED BY

THE HENRY LUCE FOUNDATION

THE NEW YORK COMMUNITY TRUST

THE ALFRED P. SLOAN FOUNDATION

A BETTER CHANCE
376 BOYLSTON STREET
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02116

Copyright © 1973 BY
A BETTER CHANCE, INC.
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

UD 013647

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

PREFACE

The cooperation of many concerned people has made this project possible. Most important were the students who participated in the ABC Program (for an aggregate of more than 5,000 years) and assisted in the research by relating their experiences. The ABC independent schools and Public School Programs offered extraordinary cooperation by sending progress reports on students, submitting research ideas, arranging for questionnaires to be filled out, establishing control groups, and providing information for a number of special sub-studies. Similarly, the volunteer ABC resource people who recruited ABC students, took time to offer research suggestions, locate former ABC applicants and administer questionnaires.

Three consultants provided extremely valuable guidance during all stages of the project. Dr. Dean K. Whitla, Director of the Office of Tests at Harvard focused special attention on the academic progress of ABC students. Dr. Chester M. Pierce, Professor of Education and Psychiatry at Harvard and Dr. David Armor, Visiting Associate Professor of Sociology at U.C.L.A. concentrated primarily on student attitudes. Several other researchers offered helpful ideas, including Dr. John Dailey of the Federal Aviation Agency in Washington, D.C., Dr. Fred Davis, Professor of Education at the University of Pennsylvania, and Dr. David Riesman, Professor of Social Sciences at Harvard. Larry Stevens, Secretary to the Visiting Committees of the Board of Overseers at Harvard University was a source of carefully executed statistical analysis. Fred Peterson, Director of Research and Evaluation at Phillips Academy provided helpful information derived from the Secondary School Research Project. On the basis of his experience in previously evaluating ABC, Dr. Alden Wessman, Professor of Psychology at City College offered useful advice.

The primary focus of the attitude study was on black ABC students, due to the fact that blacks constituted the majority of all ABC students. While black students, resource people and staff members all contributed to the research project, much of the report is based on hypotheses of white researchers. ABC has received funding for further research and welcomes suggestions for making future reports more useful to black community people as well as to Puerto Ricans, whites, and American Indians. Two American Indians assisted in the project by revising the questionnaire for use with

ABC Indian students. They are Ramona Suetopka (Hopi-Navajo), Doctoral Student at Harvard Graduate School of Education, and Bill Yellowtail (Crow), Coordinator of Indian Programs for ABC at Dartmouth College. Manuel del Valle, a student at Yale Law School, modified the questionnaire to make it appropriate for Puerto Ricans. This report does not provide adequate discussion of the attitudes of American Indians, Puerto Ricans, or whites, but additional information on non-blacks is available for those who are interested.

The ABC staff was a source of constant assistance during the two and one-half years the project was carried out. James Marshall, Hugh Hill, and Judy Brown skillfully conducted interviews of ABC students. They offered help at various stages of the project, as did William Berkeley, Barbara Brookins, Millie Clements, Tom Mikula, Debbie Perry, Woody Peterson, Diane Smith, Louis Tremblay, Sharlene Vest, Eleanor Weber, and Michael Zoob. Nancy Kopperman deserves special mention for having spent more than two years as Research Associate helping carry out all aspects of the project.

Finally, I would like to thank Debbie and Ethan who provided inspiration at times when the work load seemed particularly heavy (and even when it didn't).

George Perry

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
	Preface	ii
	Index of Figures	vi
SECTION		
I	Introduction	1
II	Methodology	11
III	Academic Performance	26
III-A	Rank in Class	38
III-B	Attrition	46
III-C	Testing	73
III-D	College Entry	96
IV	College Performance	111
V	Self-Esteem, Racial Awareness and Fate Control	130
VI	Racial Relations at School	141
VII	Relationship to Home	176
VIII	ABC Public School Program	186
IX	Conclusion	209
	Bibliography	220
	Footnotes	223
APPENDIX		
A	ABC Member Independent Schools and Public School Programs	
B-1	Number of ABC Students, by Year of Entry	
B-2	Distribution of ABC Students, by Race, Sex, Geography, and Socioeconomic Background	

APPENDIX

C-1 Colleges Attended by ABC Students 1965-1972

C-2 College Majors of ABC Students

D Academic Performance in Secondary School and College: Pearson's Correlation Coefficients

E-1 Comparison of ABC Students and Control Group Students in Attitude Study

E-2 Comparison of ABC Students and College Attendance Study Control Group

E-3 Comparison of ABC Students and College Grade Study Control Groups

F-1 ABC Attitude Questionnaire (Black Student Version)

F-2 Number of Students Who Complete the Questionnaire

F-3 Questions Used in Constructing Attitude Indices

INDEX OF FIGURES

FIGURE NUMBER	PAGE NUMBER	TITLE
1	27	Characteristics of ABC Students Prior to Entering Independent School
2	29	Median Percentile Scores (National Norms) on Standardized Tests by ABC Students and Other Groups
3	34	Characteristics Important for Good Grades Indicated by Black ABC Seniors and Black Seniors in Public Schools at Home
4	39	Quintile Rank in Class of Twelfth Grade ABC Students
5,	40	Median Percentile Rank in Class of Twelfth Grade ABC Students by Year of Graduation
6	43	Median Twelfth Grade Rank in Class in Relation to Rank in Class Before Entering ABC
7	44	Median Twelfth Grade Rank in Class of ABC Students in Relation to GSAT Scores Prior to Entering Independent School
8	45	Median Twelfth Grade Rank in Class of ABC Students Associated with Counselors' Ratings Prior to Entering Independent Schools
9	49	Percentage of ABC Students and White Independent School Students Who Agreed with the Statement: "People back home expect so much of me that I can't let them down by not doing well in school."
10a	52	Percentage of Attrition of Female and Male ABC Students
10b	52	Percentage of Attrition of ABC Students, by Race
11	53	Percentage of Attrition of ABC Students, by Geographical Region of Home Community

FIGURE NUMBER	PAGE NUMBER	TITLE
12	57	Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Black, White, Puerto Rican, and American Indian ABC Students
13	59	Percentage of Attrition of ABC Students in Relation to Rank in Class Prior to Entering ABC
14	60	Percentage of Attrition of ABC Students Associated with Counselors' Ratings Prior to Entering Independent School
15	62	Percent of Attrition of ABC Students by Grade of Entry into Independent School
16	63	Percentage of Attrition of ABC Students by Year of Scheduled Graduation from Independent School
17	65	Percentage of Attrition of ABC Students Related to Rank in Class Prior to Entering Independent School: Class of 1968 vs. Class of 1972
18	99	Percentage of Attrition of ABC Students Associated with Counselor's Ratings Prior to Entering Independent School: Class of 1968 vs. Class of 1972
19	68	Percentage of Attrition of ABC Students Enrolled in Independent School, by School Year
20	77	ABC Students' Test Score Progress, Related to Twelfth Grade Rank in Class in Independent School
21	81	Comparison of Test Score Progress of ABC Students and Control Group Attending Public School at Home
22	84	Test Score Progress of ABC Students vs. Independent School Norms
23	86	Comparison of Test Score Progress of Three and Four-Year ABC Students

FIGURE NUMBER	PAGE NUMBER	TITLE
24	87	Comparison of Test Score Progress of ABC Students Entering the Program with High vs. Low Math Scores
25	89	Comparison of Test Score Progress of ABC Students at Independent Schools with Varying Levels of Structure
26	91	Comparison of Test Score Progress of Non-ABC Students at a Highly Structured and a Less Structured Independent School
27	95	Comparison of Twelfth Grade SAT-Verbal Scores and Twelfth Grade CEEB-English Composition Scores of ABC Students and Other Groups of Students Who Took Both Tests
28	99	College Attendance Rates of ABC Students and Other Groups
29	104	Selectivity of Colleges Attended by ABC Students, and All American Students
30	106	Post-High School Activities of ABC Students and Matched Controls
31	108	Selectivity of Colleges Attended by ABC Students as Related to Twelfth Grade "Academic Adjustment" Evaluation by Their Schools
32	109	Selectivity of Colleges Attended by ABC Students as Related to Their Twelfth Grade SAT Scores
33	113	College Grades at Three Selective Colleges Received by ABC Students and Similar Students Who Attended Public High Schools
34	117	College Grades of ABC Students Related to Twelfth Grade Rank in Class and "Academic Adjustment"
35	121	Percentage of Students Graduating From College Within Four Years After Entering
36	123	Percentage of Students Planning to Attend Graduate School

FIGURE NUMBER	PAGE NUMBER	TITLE
37	124	Percentage of Students Who Were Expecting to Have "Professional" or "Managerial" Jobs After Finishing Their Education
38	126	Graduate Programs of ABC College Graduates of 1970 to 1972
39	127	Occupations of ABC College Graduates Who Did Not Enter Graduate School
40	132	Percentage of ABC and Other Students Who Felt "Above Average" in Intelligence
41	138	"Fatalism" Scores of ABC Students, White Independent School Students and Black Public School Students
42	144	Twelfth Grade "Social Adjustment" of ABC Students (as Indicated by Member Schools)
43	147	Percentage of Students Who Felt That They Were "Fully Accepted Members of the School Community"
44	149	Racial "Separatism" Scores of Black ABC Students, White Independent School Students and Black Public School Students
45	153	Characterizations of Interracial Relations by Black ABC and White Independent School Twelfth Grade Students
46	155	Proportion of Students Who Spent Most of Their Free Time with Black Students
47	159	Membership in Afro-American Societies: Black ABC and Public School Students
48	161	Alienation from School of ABC Students and White Independent School Students
49	167	Black ABC Students' and White Independent School Students' Responses to the Question: "How important is it to you to demand and get the respect you deserve?"
50	171	Proportion of Students Enrolled in METCO and ABC Who Gave "Very Favorable" Evaluations of Their Programs

FIGURE NUMBER	PAGE NUMBER	TITLE
51	173	Proportion of Male and Female ABC Students Who Felt ABC Should "definitely continue to place students in private boarding schools"
52	175	Proportion of ABC and METCO Students Who Would Ideally Prefer to Go to School in Their Own Community If All Schools Were Equally Good
53	179	Values of ABC Students, Their Families and Friends
54	180	Interests of ABC Students, Their Families and Friends
55	191	Characteristics Important for Good Grades Indicated by Black ABC Seniors in Independent Schools and the Public School Program and by Black Seniors in Public Schools at Home.
56	194	Attrition Rates of ABC Students in Public and Private Schools
57	197	Selectivity of Colleges Attended by ABC Public School Program Graduates and Other Students
58	202	Descriptions of Interracial Relations by Black ABC Seniors in Independent Schools and Public Schools
59	206	Alienation from School of Black Twelfth Grade Independent School and Public School Program ABC Seniors

SECTION I

BACKGROUND AND HISTORY OF A BETTER CHANCE

BACKGROUND AND HISTORY OF A BETTER CHANCE (ABC)

A BETTER CHANCE (ABC)* is a private non-profit educational organization which places talented students from disadvantaged backgrounds into private college preparatory boarding schools and residential Public School Programs. In its nine years of existence, the program has worked with 3,195 students.

ABC was established in 1963. During the mid-1960's, many Americans were confident that education could quickly erase the effects of centuries of racial discrimination and limited opportunity. President John F. Kennedy, in his message to Congress on January 29, 1963, said:

> We must give special attention to...providing better education in slum, distressed, and rural areas where the educational attainment of students is far below par....I am not the first, but I hope to be the last President to be compelled to call these needless shortcomings to the Nation's attention.[1]

He proposed that experimental projects be set up to discover ways of solving the problems of students in poverty areas. Thousands of compensatory programs were established, representing a variety of approaches. There were programs for various age groups to provide counseling, after-school tutoring, week-end activities, summer residential or day school sessions, bussing, "transitional" years, and a variety of other programs. ABC was one of the programs providing the greatest degree of

---

*Hereafter, except for the chapter on the Public School Program, A BETTER CHANCE will be referred to as "ABC."

intervention, since it removed students from their home communities for a period of two to four academic years.

Most of the programs established during the 1960's no longer exist. The high hopes which accompanied their founding gave way, in many cases, to frustration and disillusionment. It became obvious that the effects of discrimination could not be easily undone, and many of the programs which offered speedy solutions were inadequate. The following are several statements based on recent research studies:

> The Office of Economic Opportunity pronounced a reluctant but blunt judgment of failure today on performance contracting -- the use in public schools of private concerns, teaching machines and incentive payments in an effort to conquer slow learning by poor children. [2]

> Gains in earnings of former enrollees (white and black) were slight in comparison with a control group and...the incidence of unemployment among blacks was not noticeably affected by the Job Corps experience.[3]

> To date there is no published report of any strictly educational reform which has been proven substantially to affect academic achievement; school integration programs are no exception.[4]

However, a number of the programs which *seemed* to be valuable also went out of existence for financial reasons. Unfortunately, for the most part they operated on limited budgets and did not feel they could afford to expend program funds for research. It is almost impossible to evaluate these programs retroactively. Since ABC was founded, it has kept careful records which have facilitated the implementation of this research project.

A BETTER CHANCE was an outgrowth of the Independent School Program of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS). For many years, NSSFNS served primarily as an agency referring black students to college. Between 1950 and 1962, it also operated a secondary school, referring an average of twenty students per year to private boarding schools. NSSFNS chose to devote more funds to college placement and phased out the secondary school program in 1962. However, the director of NSSFNS met with several independent school headmasters late that year to discuss re-establishing the secondary school program, resulting in a meeting with representatives of twenty-three boarding schools at Phillips Academy on February 21, 1963. An Executive Committee was formed and held its first meeting at the Commonwealth School on April 4, 1963. At this meeting, the decision was made to submit a proposal to the Merrill Trust and to invite fifty independent schools to become dues-paying members of the program. Thirty schools indicated a willingness to join. On June 7, 1963, a field representative, based at NSSFNS in New York, was appointed to visit independent schools and recruit students to enter these schools in September, 1964.

A meeting was held at Dartmouth College on October 24, 1963, and the college offered to provide an intensive eight-week

summer program to prepare students for their more demanding educational environments. This program, to be held at Dartmouth during the summer of 1964, was to be called A Better Chance (ABC).

Thus, the two basic components of the program were decided upon: a service to identify students and refer them to member schools, and a summer program to serve as a transition to boarding schools.

The Independent Schools Program withdrew from NSSFNS to become an independent organization on January 20, 1964, and shortly thereafter, it was recognized by the State of Massachusetts as a non-profit charitable trust to be known as "The Independent Schools Talent Search Program (ISTSP)".

The Merrill Trust and dues from member schools were the first sources of administrative funding, with the Rockefeller Foundation supporting the summer program. The schools provided full scholarship aid to the 59 students who entered school in the fall of 1964. While most students were black, the program included whites, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, and others.

In 1965, additional schools joined the program and the Office of Economic Opportunity provided funding for 100 students. The schools also funded 78 new students, so a total of 178 new students enrolled in school the fall of 1965. A second summer program was established at Mount Holyoke College, this program for girls.

OEO funding increased substantially the following year, and 432 new students were placed in the fall of 1966, 300 supported with OEO funds. Three additional colleges held ABC summer programs. Besides Dartmouth and Mount Holyoke, ABC students attended Williams, Carleton, and Duke in the summer of 1966.

In 1966 the boarding schools involved in the ABC Program did not have the enrollment problems many have today. Although the number of member schools grew to 100, these schools could not quite accommodate all the students for whom OEO was willing to provide scholarships. Just as Dartmouth and the Independent Schools Program had worked together in 1963 to produce the ABC summer program in 1964, a new development occurred in 1966.

With excess OEO funds remaining to place ten students, the first "Public School Program" was established in 1966 in Hanover, New Hampshire. The Dartmouth ABC summer program had considerable support from the community of Hanover, New Hampshire, and from the college. Some residents of Hanover were searching for ways to educate some ABC students in the town during the school year. The outgrowth of this effort was the establishment of a residence (similar to a private school dormitory) for a group of ten students who would attend the public high school in Hanover. A resident director and family would live with the ABC students.

Additional "Public School Programs" have been established each year in college towns and other communities with strong public high schools. From 1966 to 1971, the headquarters of the National Public School ABC Program was located at Dartmouth College, and the program was administered independently of the Independent Schools Talent Search Program. The two organizations merged in 1972 to form A BETTER CHANCE, INC.

OEO had encouraged ABC to expect that funding for new students (who would enter in September 1967) would continue at the high 1966 level. However, late in the spring of 1967, ABC was suddenly notified that OEO could not fund any new students. A contract for 50 students was negotiated with another Federal agency, Upward Bound, and a total of 228 new students were placed, as compared with 432 the year before.

At that time, ABC began the process of building a base of private funding. The ABC member schools increased their scholarship budget for ABC students each year. More than 200 corporations and foundations made donations to ABC. Public funds for new students were obtained from Upward Bound, the New York and Jersey City Model Cities Programs, the New Jersey Bureau of Children's Services, the Connecticut and Philadelphia Child Welfare Departments, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

An average of 460 students were placed each of the last five years, and by September 1972, 3,195 students had

been awarded scholarships with a value of more than $35,000,000.

For what reasons did ABC place these talented students in its member schools? The Declaration of Trust of the Trustees of ABC, composed in 1964, stated that the goals of the organization were:

> to provide methods and personnel to discover and place culturally deprived students, regardless of race, color, or creed, in private secondary schools, to the end that such students may attain scholastic competence to take full advantage of college and graduate school education.

In 1963, President Dickey of Dartmouth indicated that

> Many Negroes...are frustrated in their desire for equal opportunity and will continue to be unless more can qualify for leadership....The main barrier to this development in most northern colleges is the lack of qualified applicants for admission and financial aid.[5]

Most colleges had minority enrollments of less than one per cent. The Scholastic Aptitude Test was an important admissions criterion, and there was little indication at that time that colleges would overlook low scores of public school applicants.

The director of NSSFNS had originally proposed that ABC provide a post-graduate year at an independent school for talented black students. These would be students with strong high school records and leadership ability whose low College Board scores prevented them from gaining admission to "better

colleges". A post-graduate year, or possibly senior year of high school and a post-graduate year at an independent school was considered a means of improving their "cultural background" and SAT scores (possibly by as much as 100 points).

On the basis of their experience, the founding headmasters felt that one or two years in their schools would not have much effect on College Board test scores. However, they did agree that "cultural enrichment" and admissions to competitive colleges should be primary goals of the program and felt that students who were successful in independent school would "convince the more selective colleges of their potential." The independent schools, and later the public schools in the program, would be a resource to produce "qualified candidates" to highly competitive colleges, a function many of these schools had served for more than a century, primarily for "middle and upper class" students.

Since the member schools have been the heart of the ABC Program, the schools' goals are important to consider. Most ABC schools stress college preparation. In addition, their goals include training for leadership, shaping good character, and developing self-knowledge. The following typical goals appear in the catalogues of several member schools:

> Give students an insight into themselves, enable them to gain confidence in order to take on real responsibilities.

> Help students toward the realization and exercise of their full potential as human beings.
>
> Prepare students for active involvement in the affairs of the nation and the world.
>
> Give motivated boys the tools, experience, knowledge and voice to make their concerns effective.

While ABC has shared many of these goals, the program also has been concerned with selecting those students who *need* the program.

At a trustees meeting in 1964, one of the headmasters said:

> There are many who will get on by themselves and then there are many who will not make it... if we are going for an ABC candidate, then we want some human being who has a 99% chance against her.

The following statement appeared in the 1966 OEO proposal:

> ...[ABC] tries to avoid accepting only the best students, the "cream" who will get accepted at a first quality college without [ABC's] assistance. Each year, as [ABC] and its resource workers gain experience, it can be said with increasing certainty that the boys and girls accepted into the Program would not "make it" without [ABC] intervention.

This goal was encouraged by public funding. The Office of Economic Opportunity required that the students it funded in 1965 and 1966 come from poverty backgrounds by limiting eligibility to students from low income families. Upward Bound directors in 1967 and 1968 were to recommend talented

students who functioned well during the summer residential Upward Bound program who would probably be unable to sustain their progress during the school year at home.

Thus, from the beginning, the program was not one which attempted to help students reach minimal levels of literacy or employability, but to "make it" into the "big leagues." ABC was optimistic that its elitest goals for the students enrolled would be achieved: ABC would help *talented* students who would otherwise be frustrated by their poverty environment to reach their full potential. These students would attend competitive secondary schools, colleges, and graduate schools, and attain positions of leadership.

At this point in American history, optimism which has not been supported by convincing evidence is likely to be challenged. The mood of the country is more cynical, and the programs claiming success bear the burden of proof. Evaluation is considered more essential than it was a few years ago.

Since the program represents such a major intervention into the lives of the students placed, ABC decided to begin a systematic study of its impact. In 1970, the first small group of ABC students graduated from college. At that time, ABC submitted a proposal for funding a research project, and received grants from the Henry Luce Foundation, the New York Community Trust, and the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. The following is a discussion of the findings of this study.

SECTION II

METHODOLOGY

METHODOLOGY

The ABC program has had an impact on ABC students, to some extent on the schools to which they go (the ABC member schools), and to a lesser degree on the communities from which ABC students come. This research project does not consider the effect of ABC on member schools or on students' home communities. It focuses on the academic performance and attitudes of ABC students and the effects the program has had on them.*

RESEARCH ORGANIZATION

The evaluation was supervised by ABC staff members. Three consultants with considerable expertise participated in all stages of planning and execution of the project. These three men, all affiliated with Harvard University are Dr. Dean K. Whitla, Director of the Office of Tests and Associate Director of Admissions; Dr. Chester M. Pierce, Professor of Education and Psychiatry; and Dr. David Armor, Associate Professor of Sociology (now visiting at the University of California at Los Angeles).

In addition to the advice of these research consultants and the ABC staff, a number of individuals concerned with the effects of the ABC Program made contributions to this effort. Some were educators who had been recommended by the three consultants. Others were members of ABC's natural "constituency."

---

*(The study did not include an evaluation of the ABC summer programs. Students who attended summer sessions but who did not enter ABC member schools were excluded from the study.)

Research recommendations were solicited in the spring of 1970 from ABC "resource people" (those who recommended ABC applicants) and from personnel at ABC member schools. Both groups filled out a questionnaire and made many helpful recommendations on the basis of their knowledge of ABC students.

The ABC students themselves served as an extremely valuable resource. In October 1970, two groups of graduates of ABC schools who attended college in the Boston area met with the ABC staff to discuss their feelings about the program. ABC staff members also conducted individual interviews of twenty-five ABC secondary school students. The tapes of these discussions helped focus the attention of the research on issues which concerned the students. The ABC research consultants either listened to or read transcriptions of these tapes. The ABC staff members conducting the research were, in a sense, a liaison between the research experts and the ABC constituencies. The consultants helped the staff identify important issues, determine methodology to obtain information, and interpret data.

ABC COMPUTER FILE

Since ABC is primarily an educational program, the research project paid careful attention to the academic performance and growth of ABC students. When students applied for admission to the program, they submitted a lengthy application form. The application included a writing sample, a letter of recommend-

ation and a school report. In addition, parents filled out a statement which provided information about the family's socio-economic background. Finally, students took the Secondary Schools Admissions Test (SSAT), a national examination prepared and administered by the Educational Testing Service.

Much of the information derived from students' applications was coded, keypunched, and maintained on computer file. In addition, ABC schools submitted year-end reports on the progress of all ABC students, and this information was also computerized.

Using the information stored in the computer file, it was possible to analyze ABC students' high school and college performance. The variables included: 1) the academic strength of students before they entered the ABC Program -- their previous rank in class, school ratings and test scores; 2) demographic factors -- race, sex, geographical background, family size and parents' income, education, and marital status; and, 3) the aspect of time -- the number of years the students attended member schools and the year they were scheduled to graduate.

ABC has worked with 121 member independent schools, which were categorized according to their level of competition, degree of support provided for ABC students, level of

ABC enrollment, and degree of structure. In addition, they were divided into coed and non-coed schools. Most member schools provided information on the average SSAT and SAT scores of their total student body, and this was used to determine the level of *competition*. ABC staff members rated schools according to the level of *support* provided for ABC students. The level of *enrollment* was based on the average number and percentage of ABC students enrolled during the time each school participated in the ABC Program. The following table summarized the categorization of member schools by level of ABC enrollment:

		Proportion of ABC Students		
		Under 3%	3%-4.9%	5%+
Number of ABC Students	Under 5	Low	Low	Low
	5-9	Low	Moderate	Moderate
	10+	Moderate	Moderate	High

Schools were divided into three levels of *structure* (high, moderate or low) based on ABC staff members' opinions of the degree to which they regulated the academic program and social activities of students.* Thus, the various environments ABC provided could be studied to determine whether they had differing impact on ABC students' academic growth.

---

*As a check on the ABC ratings, the staff of the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS) was also asked to categorize the ABC member schools according to their level of structure. Their evaluations were similar: 72% of the schools rated were placed in the same category, and the other 28% were all within one category of the ABC ratings.

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE IN ABC SCHOOLS

The research examined the academic performance of the 1,640 ABC students who had entered ABC schools and were scheduled to graduate by June 1972. The *rank in class* of these students was indicated on the year-end reports submitted by these schools. The *attrition rate* of ABC students was determined and compared with the attrition rate of non-ABC students in independent schools. Five representative ABC schools provided information about the attrition levels of their entire schools during the time that the ABC program was in existence. In addition, discussions with headmasters and other school personnel, interviews with ABC students, and questionnaires provided some explanation of the attrition rates.

The study considered the *progress made on standardized tests* by ABC students. The ABC test-score analysis was based primarily on the study performed by the Educational Testing Service which predicted college board scores in the twelfth grade for students who had taken the Secondary School Admissions Test in eighth or ninth grade.

The Secondary School Admissions Test (SSAT) was developed and administered by the Educational Testing Service in Princeton, New Jersey. It is intended primarily for students applying for admission to independent school in grades seven

to eleven. Nearly all ABC schools require that applicants take the SSAT as part of the application process.

In November 1970 the SSAT Board issued *Report Number VI* entitled "Use of SSAT Scores for Prediction of College Board Scores." On the basis of student's scores on the Reading and Verbal sections of the SSAT, their Verbal SAT scores were predicted. (For example, the table predicted that a student who, as an eighth grader, had a Reading raw score of 290 and a Verbal raw score of 291 would score 570 on the SAT Verbal four years later.) The predictions were made using data on 3,496 students who took the SSAT when they were in grades eight or nine (during the 1965-1966 school year), and the SAT when they were in grade twelve.*

By June of 1972 a total of 619 ABC students had taken both the SSAT (in grades eight or nine) and the SAT in the twelfth grade. The SSAT and SAT scores of all ABC students were coded, keypunched and filed on computer tape. Using the ABC students' SSAT scores and the prediction table, a predicted SAT score was derived for each ABC student.**

(*The 1,177 ninth graders took the SAT during the 1968-1969 school year. The 2,259 eighth graders took the SAT in 1969-1970.)
(**The Educational Testing Service converted its scoring system for the SSAT in the fall of 1970, and in order to perform this parallel study it was necessary to convert ABC students' SSAT scores to those of the new scale on which the ETS study was based.)

A comparison was made between the predicted and achieved scores of ABC students.

At two ABC schools, an examination was made of the test score progress of non-ABC students. One was a study of 97 students at a highly structured school and the other of 84 students at a less structured school.

COLLEGE ENTRANCE

The ABC program hoped that placing students in reputedly strong secondary schools would improve their chances to enter and succeed in selective colleges. The current literature was surveyed to determine the college entrance norms for students in the country as a whole, and for students similar to those in ABC. The actual college attendance rate of ABC students was determined by a three-step process: 1) ABC independent schools indicated where they believed their graduating ABC seniors had enrolled in college; 2) These colleges were contacted to determine whether students were actually there; and, 3) A random sample was taken of all those students who were not found to be enrolled where they were expected to be, and these students were located by phone or mail, if possible, and by a credit corporation if not.

The actual percentage of ABC students who enrolled in college was determined in the manner outlined above. It was also possible to estimate the proportion of ABC students who

would have entered college had they not enrolled in the ABC Program. This was done by studying a control group of students who resembled ABC students. In the introduction, reference was made to the fact that ABC received substantial Federal funding in 1966 but suffered a sharp cutback in 1967. Word of this cutback came late and a substantial number of candidates had to be notified that there was insufficient funding to place them in independent schools. The applications of these students were kept on file and in 1970, while these students were still in high schools in their home communities, an effort was made to establish a control group by matching them with other applicants who were actually placed in the program.

From among these applicants, fifty of the ABC students were matched on the basis of their socio-economic background and their academic strength. Students were paired according to 1) size of their community; 2) structure of their family (father or no father); 3) parents' education; 4) family income; 5) achievement in public school at the time they applied for an ABC scholarship; and, 6) GSAT score (total score) on the Secondary School Admissions Test.*

(*All fifty of the matched pairs were black males. The total pool of rejected candidates was not sufficiently large to match other students with ABC scholarship recipients. Only a small number of the black females who were rejected were as strong academically as those who were placed in member schools, and there was also an insufficient pool of American Indian, Puerto Rican and white 1967 applicants.)

All fifty pairs were closely matched so that if they had been in the same educational environment, they could have been expected to achieve at approximately the same level and have similar educational and career potential.

More than half of the control group students were located by the resource people who had originally recommended them. A credit organization succeeded in finding all but three of the remaining students, so the results are a report on 47 of the 50 matched pairs.

The founders of the ABC Program were concerned not just that the ABC students enroll in college, but that they attend selective institutions. In order to determine the selectivity of their colleges, a study was made using one of the rating systems which already existed. Dailey's Taxonomy[6] was used to rate ABC students' colleges, and the ratings were compared with those of students in the control group just mentioned, and with the national norms.

COLLEGE PERFORMANCE

Because records had been maintained since the beginning of the ABC Program with the cooperation of ABC schools, it was possible to obtain information on virtually all the ABC students during the time they were enrolled in ABC schools. It was difficult to obtain information about the college performance of ABC students, partly because of the concern many universities have about the confidentiality of this information. Questionnaires

concerning the academic performance of ABC students were sent to all colleges in which they were enrolled, but information could be obtained about the grade point average of only 289 students, or approximately one-third of those who had enrolled in college by the winter of 1971. Therefore, this information is less reliable than that which assesses students' high school performance. Moreover, because of the much smaller number of students, the analysis of the performance of sub-groups of ABC students is less conclusive.

The academic performance of ABC students was compared with that of students who were similar in academic strength and family background, but had attended public high school at home. Four colleges which enrolled substantial numbers of ABC students agreed to establish control groups for the purpose of comparing ABC and non-ABC students. A total of 65 matched pairs were included in this study.

The retention rate of ABC students in college was also examined. One hundred and thirty ABC students graduated from independent schools in 1968. These students were all located to determine how many of them had graduated from college by June 1972, and to learn their future plans. Using the findings of other studies, a comparison was made of ABC students' attrition rate in college and that of non-ABC students.

Finally, a questionnaire was filled out by ABC seniors

in college to determine their attitudes toward their education and a number of social issues.*

ATTITUDES

The impact of the ABC Program on ABC students' attitudes was studied in detail. Discussions with ABC students and recommendations of ABC resource people and school personnel provided insight as to the kinds of attitudes that should be studied. The following were considered most important: 1) aspirations, 2) self-esteem, 3) fate control, 4) racial attitudes, and, 5) relationship to home. Questions were borrowed from several studies so that ABC students could be compared with other students of similar age.** Over a period of several months the ABC staff and research consultants developed a questionnaire which sought to analyze attitudes and related behavior in the areas indicated above.

In order to put the attitudes of ABC students in proper perspective and to help isolate the effects of the ABC Program, two types of control groups were established. One was a group of students who attended public school at home and resembled ABC students in socio-economic background and academic standing. ABC resource people in twelve towns and cities around the

---

(*The period of 1968 to 1972 was one of turmoil on many college campuses. Therefore, the experience of these ABC students may not be typical of those of future ABC students in college.)
(**These other studies included the Coleman Report, an evaluation of the METCO Program [a voluntary program which busses Boston students to suburbs] and the Secondary School Research Program [SSRP] which primarily studies the attitudes of independent school and suburban students.)

country* were invaluable in assembling these groups. The second was a group of white non-ABC students at ABC schools, generally from middle and upper class backgrounds -- the type of students who have traditionally attended boarding schools. The ABC staff selected fifteen representative ABC schools, considering the type of school (coed, boys or girls school), the level of competition of the school, and the number of ABC students in attendance.

In the spring of 1970, this questionnaire was administered to 125 black ABC seniors in private schools and to control groups of 138 white seniors in ABC schools and 103 black students attending public school at home. In the fall of 1971 it was administered to 134 entering black ABC tenth graders in private schools and to the control groups of tenth graders (130 white independent school students and 137 black public school students). While 70% of all ABC students have been black, other groups also enrolled in the program. Therefore, the questionnaire was modified for use with American Indians, Puerto Ricans and whites, and was administered to non-black ABC students in independent schools in the spring of 1972. At that time, the black seniors in the public school portion of the ABC program, and American Indians, Puerto Ricans and whites at all grade levels in the Public School Program filled out the questionnaire.

(*These were: Baltimore, Md.; Clarksdale, Ms.; Columbus, Oh.; Darien, Ga.; Detroit, Mi.; Jersey City, NJ; Nashville, Tn.; New York, NY; Oakland, Ca.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Richmond, Va.; and Trenton, NJ.)

Questionnaires were mailed to all member schools. School administrators arranged for the completion of these questionnaires by both ABC students and control groups of white independent school students. Over 98% of the eligible students completed the questionnaire. Each student was paid $3.00 for participating.

The attitudes of tenth and twelfth grade ABC students were compared for the purpose of determining the change over time in attitudes of ABC students. It might have been better to test the same group of students twice. At this point, however, it is necessary to base tentative conclusions on the comparison between sophomores and seniors, acknowledging that there are several problems with this methodology. The major problem is that the senior group excludes approximately 20% of the students who were scheduled to graduate in 1971 but who dropped out of the program. It is possible that their attitudes were different from those students who remained in the program until graduation.

There are a number of other factors which might cause reservations about any questionnaire study. This is an evaluation of the attitudes of teenagers and they, like other people, often do not wish to appear to be abnormal. They may, therefore, attempt to answer questions according to what they feel they should say rather than what they believe.

The fact that students were paid could affect the responses. Students were paid to fill out the questionnaire in

order to increase the response rate. ABC students might have taken the time because they had a special interest in the program. However, the headmasters and counselors who arranged for non-ABC students to fill out the questionnaire reported that the response rate would not have been good if these students were not paid. The payment of $3.00 was not considered so high that it would influence students' responses. Since non-ABC students had to be paid, ABC students also received payment.

While the control group of black students in public school were matched very closely with ABC students with regard to their socio-economic background, they were somewhat weaker in academic ability as measured by standardized tests. [See Appendix E-1] However, they were successful as students in high school.

Despite the weaknesses of the questionnaire method, the responses seem to be consistent with students' statements during interviews. Moreover, the high response rate among enrolled ABC students (98%) reduces the possibility of distortion due to response bias. And it will be possible to retest students who were sophomores in the fall of 1971 when they graduate in the spring of 1974.

The extent to which ABC students' attitudes are consistent with their behavior has not been measured. While it was worthwhile to examine their stated racial attitudes and their attitudes towards their home communities, it will also be impor-

tant to determine their actual behavior as it is affected by the ABC Program.

SUMMARY

The founders of ABC felt that the program would provide improved academic preparation for college, cultural enrichment, and access to selective colleges. In addition, they hoped that the ABC experience would improve students' success in college and would lead to graduate or professional school attendance and professional careers and leadership positions. Besides studying the degree to which ABC has been successful in helping students achieve these goals, the research has attempted to examine the effect of the program on students' attitudes regarding their aspirations, self-esteem, fate-control, racial feelings, and relationships to home.

SECTION III

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE IN SECONDARY SCHOOL

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE IN SECONDARY SCHOOL

Introduction: ABC Students and the ABC Environment

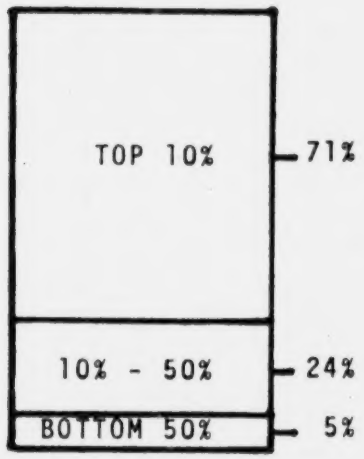
ABC has attempted to enroll academically talented students from disadvantaged backgrounds: from broken homes, low-income families, and families with limited education. Fewer than half (45%) of the ABC students lived with both parents, and half of the students were from families on welfare or earning less than $4,000. Their parents completed an average of 10 years of school.

While they were from poor families, most ABC students entered the program having been highly successful as students, highly recommended by their public school counselors, and having tested rather well. A majority had been in the top ten percent of their classes and few had been in the bottom half.

One part of the students' ABC application was a recommendation which was filled out by the public school counselor. In addition to writing a description, counselors were asked to evaluate the applicant "as a student" and "as a person" either as "outstanding", "excellent", "good", "fair", or "poor". Figure 1 indicates that the counselors rated most ABC students very highly.

Moreover, most ABC students' standardized test scores were high. Two-thirds of the ABC students took the Secondary School Admissions Test as part of the application

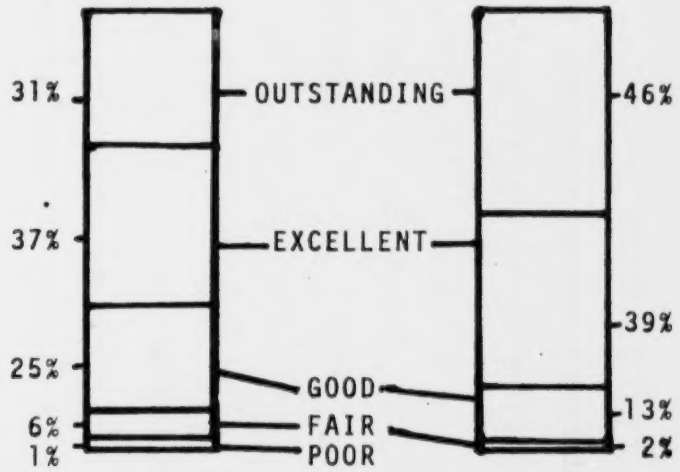
FIGURE 1. CHARACTERISTICS OF ABC STUDENTS
PRIOR TO ENTERING INDEPENDENT SCHOOL



N=1,130*

RANK IN CLASS OF ABC STUDENTS IN PUBLIC SCHOOL, PRIOR TO ENTERING INDEPENDENT SCHOOL

*Information was available on 70% of the students



N=1,326**

COUNSELORS' RATINGS OF ABC STUDENTS "AS A STUDENT" PRIOR TO ENTERING INDEPENDENT SCHOOL

N=1,322**

COUNSELORS' RATINGS OF ABC STUDENTS "AS A PERSON" PRIOR TO ENTERING INDEPENDENT SCHOOL

**Information was available on 81% of the students

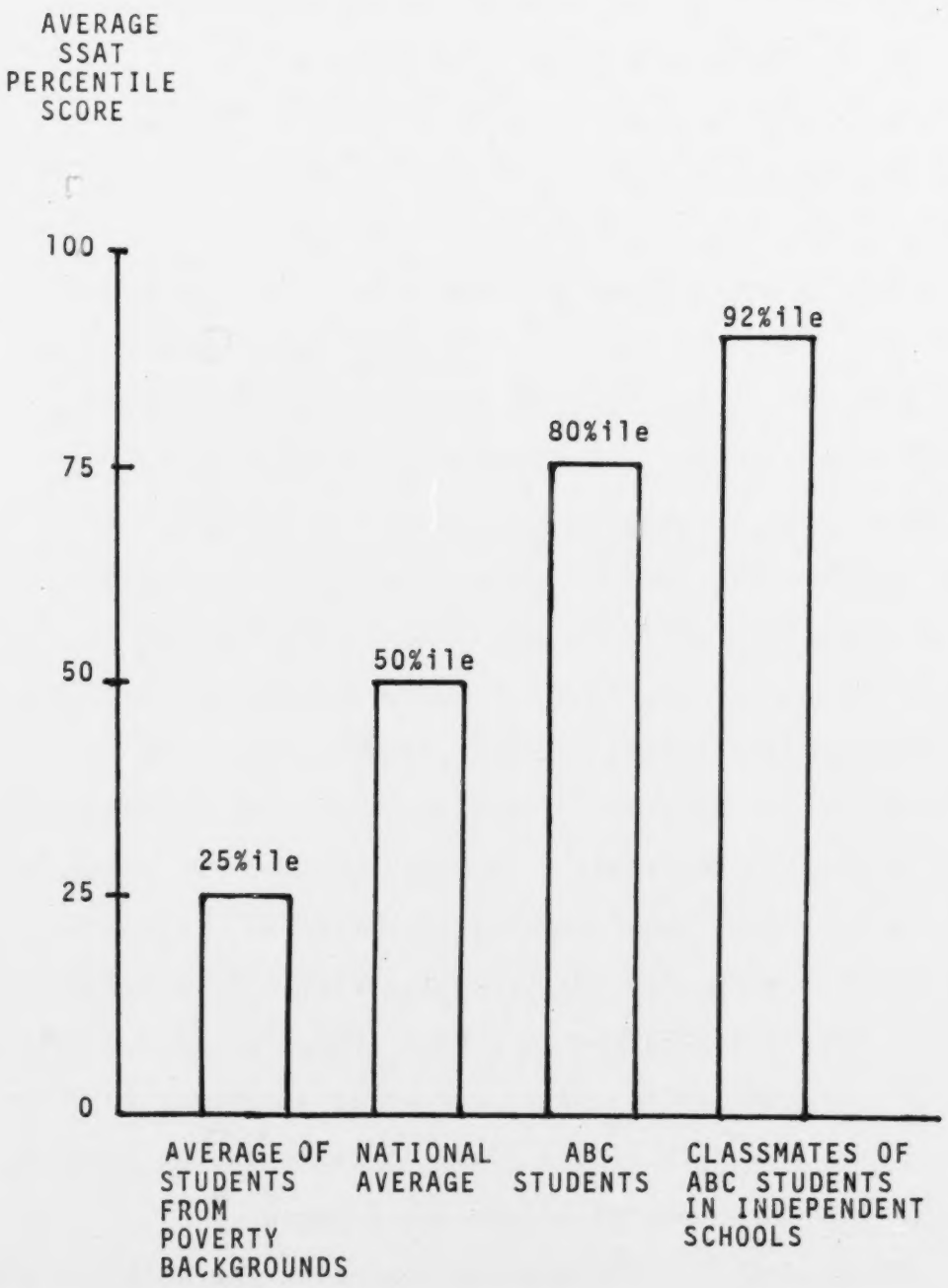
process. Ninety percent scored above the 50th percentile, according to national norms, and the median score for ABC students was at approximately the 80th percentile.

When compared with students attending schools in their own neighborhoods, they were much farther above average. Mosteller and Moynihan [7] state that "average scores of poor Negro children in urban slums cluster around the 25th percentile of the whole nation." Okada [8] indicates that Black, Puerto Rican and American Indian students from poor families average two and one-half to three years below grade level on verbal ability tests taken in grade nine. Thus, ABC students tested about four years above the average of the students in public schools in their home neighborhoods. Given the information provided by these sources and the Coleman Report, it is likely that the average ABC student probably ranked within the top five per cent of his previous school on test score performance.

Because of the obvious strength of most ABC students, one might be concerned that the program worked with students who were much too safe, did not present a risk, and would have "made it" if they had remained in public school at home. This question will be considered later, but it is important to point out the academic strength of the *other* students in the independent schools which are members of the ABC Program.

ABC students on the average tested at the 80th percentile, but their scores were lower than those of their private

FIGURE 2. MEDIAN PERCENTILE SCORES (NATIONAL NORMS) ON STANDARDIZED TESTS BY ABC STUDENTS AND OTHER GROUPS



school classmates, who averaged above the 90th percentile on the SSAT. Because of their lower test scores and the fact that they attended "less competitive" public schools, they may have been viewed as risks by independent schools using traditional measures to predict academic achievement.

Most students who attend public schools in the poverty neighborhoods from which ABC students come achieve a disappointing level of academic success. For many years it was generally assumed that one of the chief causes of educational inequality was unequal *inputs*. That is, that expenditures for students in poor neighborhoods were less than expenditures for students in affluent areas. The 1966 Coleman Report, the most extensive study ever made of American education, found this assumption was wrong -- that, in fact, per student expenditure was not lower in poor neighborhoods. More important, the report concluded that educational achievement was not closely related to the level of school funding.

This was consistent with the findings reported in 1969 by the First National City Bank entitled *Public Education in New York* [9]. The report indicated that during the 1967-1968 school year, when the national average per student expenditure was $623, New York City schools with populations more than 90% black and Puerto Rican spent from $529 to $1560. However, *"achievement levels were not higher at schools with greater expenditures."*[author's italics.]

The increased funding may have benefited teachers, more of whom were employed, and at higher salaries. It may also have helped publishing companies, manufacturers of audio-visual equipment, and other businesses. However, the students in poor neighborhoods did not receive a better education as a result. According to Coleman,

> *Per pupil expenditure, books in the library, and a host of other facilities and curricular measures show virtually no relation to achievement if the "social" environment of the school -- the educational backgrounds of other students and teachers -- is held constant.* [10 - author's italics]

Even "pupil/teacher ratio in instruction...showed a consistent lack of relation to achievement among all groups under all conditions."[11]

Many social scientists have concluded that, given the similarity of public schools in America, it is the *environment* which seems to have the most important differential effect on educational achievement. Coleman indicated that

> *The sources of inequality of educational opportunity appear to lie first in the home itself and the cultural influences immediately surrounding the home; then they lie in the schools' ineffectiveness to free achievement from the impact of the home..."*[12]

Similarly, Burkhead, who studied Atlanta and Chicago schools, wrote that

> ...variations in educational outcomes in large city high schools, measured by test scores, are almost wholly conditioned by the socio-economic environment of the neighborhood. [13]

Although most efforts to improve the education of children from poor neighborhoods have had disappointing results, one might still feel that ABC would have a better chance to succeed. Nearly all of the schools studied by Coleman had between 15 and 38 students per class. The average ABC class size is even less than 15. While smaller class size was not shown to improve achievement, and while increased per student expenditure was not shown to produce positive results, this conclusion was based on a study of American schools studied by the Coleman Report, nearly all of which expended between $400 and $2,000 per year. Independent boarding schools spend an average of $4,000 per student per year. Admittedly, some of this $4,000 is for "room and board" but this is precisely the type of expenditure which Coleman implies could be productive:

> Government programs concerned with improving the academic performance of blacks and other minority groups should give as much attention, if not more, to the environment -- both family and neighborhood -- in which the minority child lives.[14]

While ABC did not work with students' families or their neighborhoods, it did provide an *alternate* environment during the school year.

Moreover, ABC schools supplied an important ingredient. According to Jencks,

> The one school characteristic that showed a consistent relationship to test performance was the one school characteristic to which most poor black children had been denied access: classmates from affluent homes. [15]

While a student was not likely to do much better in a school which spent $1,500 than in one which spent $750 per year per student, he would learn more if his classmates' socio-economic status was high rather than low.

In independent schools, ABC students had classmates whose family status was considerably higher than students with whom they had attended school previously.

More than three-fourths of the non-ABC students' fathers graduated from college; nearly half attended graduate school and more than three-fourths had professional or managerial occupations. Virtually none of the ABC students' fathers graduated from college or were in the professions.

The founders of the ABC Program felt that their schools provided an environment which would be more conducive to intellectual development than the type of schools which poor children generally attended. ABC students and a control group of talented black students who remained at home and attended public school were asked to evaluate their schools in several respects.

In response to the question, "How important [are] the following *generally* for getting good grades in *most* of your classes?" ABC students indicated that "good behavior",

FIGURE 3. CHARACTERISTICS IMPORTANT FOR GOOD GRADES INDICATED BY BLACK ABC SENIORS AND BLACK SENIORS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS AT HOME

	BLACK ABC SENIORS	BLACK SENIORS IN PUBLIC SCHOOL AT HOME
GOOD BEHAVIOR IN CLASS ($P < .001$)	61%	92%
GETTING ALONG WITH THE TEACHER (N.S.)	73%	90%
NEATNESS IN ASSIGNMENTS ($.001 < P < .005$)	68%	96%
INTELLIGENCE (N.S.)	94%	96%
HARD WORK (N.S.)	98%	96%
	N=125	N=103

"getting along with the teacher", and "neat assignments" were of much less importance than did the control group of students attending public schools at home. Both groups rated "hard work" and "intelligence" as important factors. One ABC student stated:

> I think there's more competition here. At my old school people had a tendency to become apathetic. It was partly the teachers' fault, though, because some of the teachers just gave up on certain people because they were fooling around in class. These people could have really done well if somebody had shown interest in them, but they just became apathetic...The competition [here] helps me to set higher goals for myself to do as well as I can.

Another explained:

> There's a certain amount of apathy back home, knowing you're going to get A's, and certain teachers just letting you slide.

In his discussion of educational "inputs" Coleman explains that dollars expended is a measure which is unfair to students from poor neighborhoods, where, for example, expenditures for such inputs as broken windows is much higher. Moreover,

> One resource never measured as an input resource is order and quiet in the classroom presumably because it is a "free" resource. Yet one of the principal diseconomies some lower-class children impose on their classmates is the loss of this resource, the loss of order in the classroom...[16]

ABC member schools have little class time taken up with disciplinary problems. Students have an opportunity outside

of class to study in a quiet place, and can spend more time on their studies. Whereas only 13% of students in the public school control group studied three hours per day or more, 57% of the ABC students reported that they studied at least three hours per day.

On the average, ABC students indicated that they studied for approximately an hour per day more than did similar students attending public school at home. ABC students studied about the same amount as their white classmates, and most reported that these classmates studied more than students with whom ABC students had previously attended school. In response to the question:

> Would you say that the students you have met in boarding school work more, less, or about the same on their subjects as students you knew before starting boarding school?

83% of the black ABC seniors replied "more"; 5%, "less", and 12%, "about the same".

Thus, it appears that ABC students were in a position to make greater academic progress during high school than if they had remained at home. Their classmates were affluent, they reported that the independent school environment was conducive to study, and they spent more time on their school work. Moreover, since they attended residential schools, their teachers were available for extra help.

The following is an evaluation of the academic *results* achieved by ABC students as indicated by several traditional

measures of academic success: 1) their grades and rank in class, 2) their retention rate in the program, 3) their progress on standardized tests, and 4) their admission to college.

SECTION III A

RANK IN CLASS

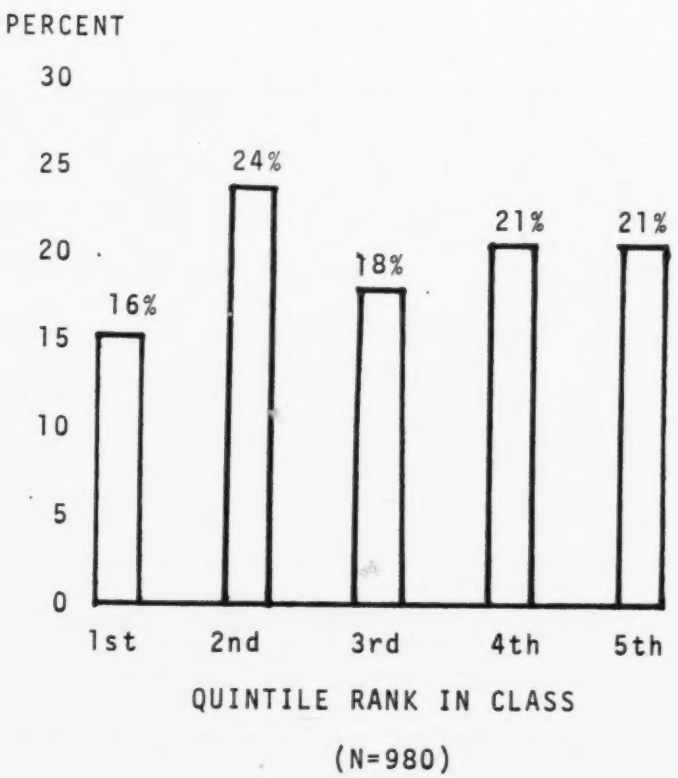
RANK IN CLASS

On the average, entering ABC students' standardized test scores were lower than those of their classmates. When they graduated, two, three, or four years later, their scores were an average of fifty points below their classmates' on the twelfth grade Scholastic Aptitude Tests.

Despite their lower scores, ABC students' academic records in independent school were approximately as strong as those of their classmates. Sixty per cent of the graduating ABC seniors were ranked by their schools according to their grade point average, and Figure 4 indicates that they were nearly evenly distributed in class rank. The median rank in class of ABC students was just below the middle--at the 47th percentile. Figure 5 shows that this performance by ABC students has been remarkably stable over time. In view of the academic strength of their classmates, the "average" rank in class represents a very satisfactory performance.

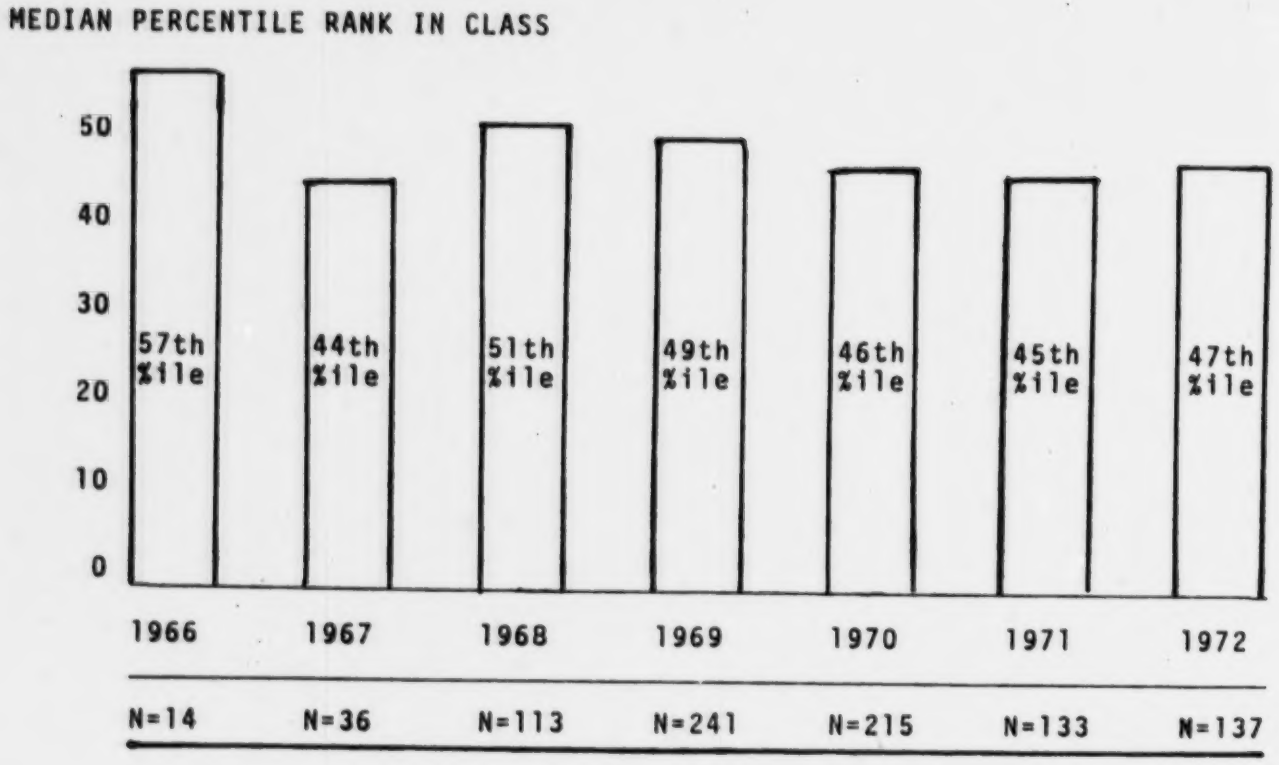
Relative to their classmates, ABC students "outperformed" their test scores. At the college level, the reverse has generally been the case for disadvantaged students. There are several possible explanations for the success of ABC students in secondary school. One is the fact that most of

FIGURE 4. QUINTILE RANK IN CLASS OF TWELFTH GRADE ABC STUDENTS



THE DISTRIBUTION OF CLASS RANK OF ABC SENIORS WAS APPROXIMATELY EQUIVALENT TO THAT OF THEIR NON-ABC CLASSMATES.

FIGURE 5. MEDIAN PERCENTILE RANK IN CLASS
OF TWELFTH GRADE ABC STUDENTS
BY YEAR OF GRADUATION



The median rank in class of graduating ABC seniors has been close to the fiftieth percentile each year.

them were extremely highly motivated. Their rank in class previous to entering ABC schools was probably, on the average, higher than that of their classmates. Moreover, ABC students were more involved in their studies and other school activities than many college students. Finally, they were viewed by their teachers as "talented" partly because they were selected by the ABC Program and their independent schools as scholarship recipients. At the college level, minority group members are often viewed as "high risk" students, and teacher expectations are relatively low.

While overall, ABC students were nearly evenly distributed in twelfth grade rank in class, how did subgroups of ABC students perform? None of the socio-economic factors significantly predicted rank in class. There were no significant differences within groups by sex, race, geography, parents' education, parents' marital status, welfare status, family income, and number of siblings. Twelfth grade rank in class was also unrelated to the grade level at which ABC students entered independent school. Their rank in class at coed and non-coed schools and at schools varying in level of structure, supportiveness of ABC students, and level of ABC enrollment was similar.

ABC students at less competitive schools had stronger records than those at the more competitive

schools. At less competitive schools, where ABC students' predicted SAT Verbal scores* were twelve points lower than their classmates' scores (503 vs. 515), ABC students' median rank in class was above average: at the 57th percentile. At highly competitive schools, ABC students' predicted SAT Verbal scores were an average of 84 points lower than their classmates' (542 vs. 626), and ABC students' median rank in class was below average: at the 37th percentile.

Figures 6 to 8 show that academic strength prior to entering independent school was related to success at ABC schools. Public school rank in class (r=.15), SSAT scores (r=.08)** and counselors' ratings of ABC students "as a student" (r=.20) were all significant at a level below .025.

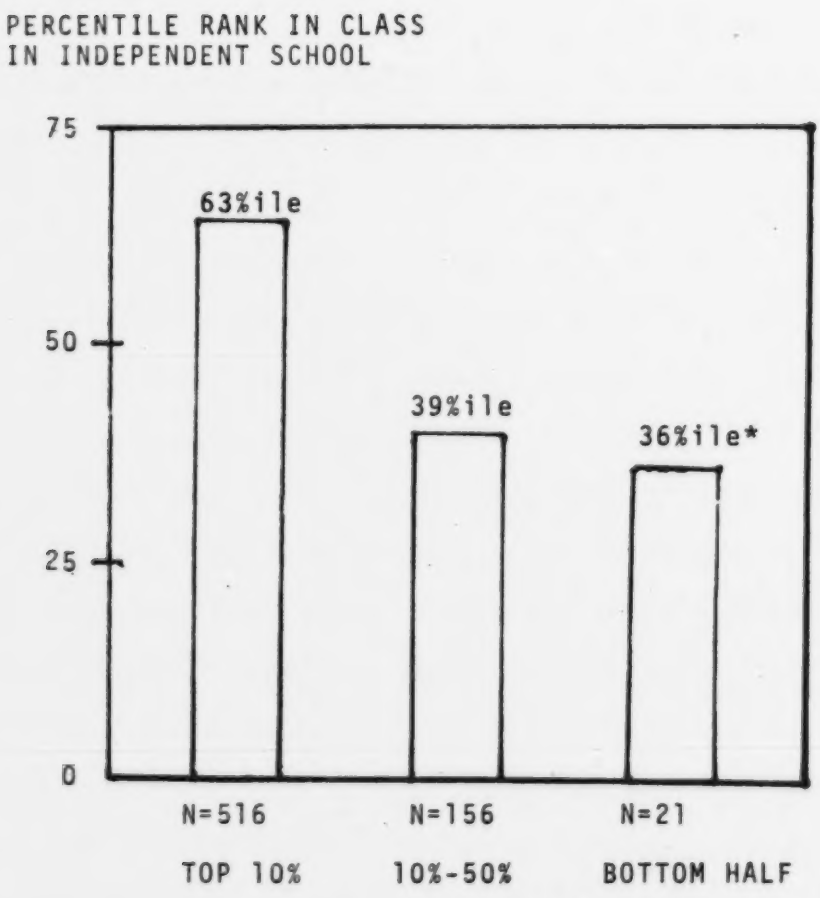
In summary, most ABC students entered the program having been far above average in public school, both in class rank and in test score performance. They attended much more competitive independent boarding schools, where their twelfth grade rank in class distribution was approximately the same as that of their non-ABC classmates. While none of the socio-economic background factors predicted significant academic performance, previous academic strength was statistically significant as a predictor of twelfth grade rank in class in ABC schools.

---

*Predicted SAT scores were derived by the Educational Testing Service and were based on students' performance on the Secondary School Admissions Test at the time of application to independent school.

**As explained in Figure 8, the actual r is actually somewhat higher than .08.

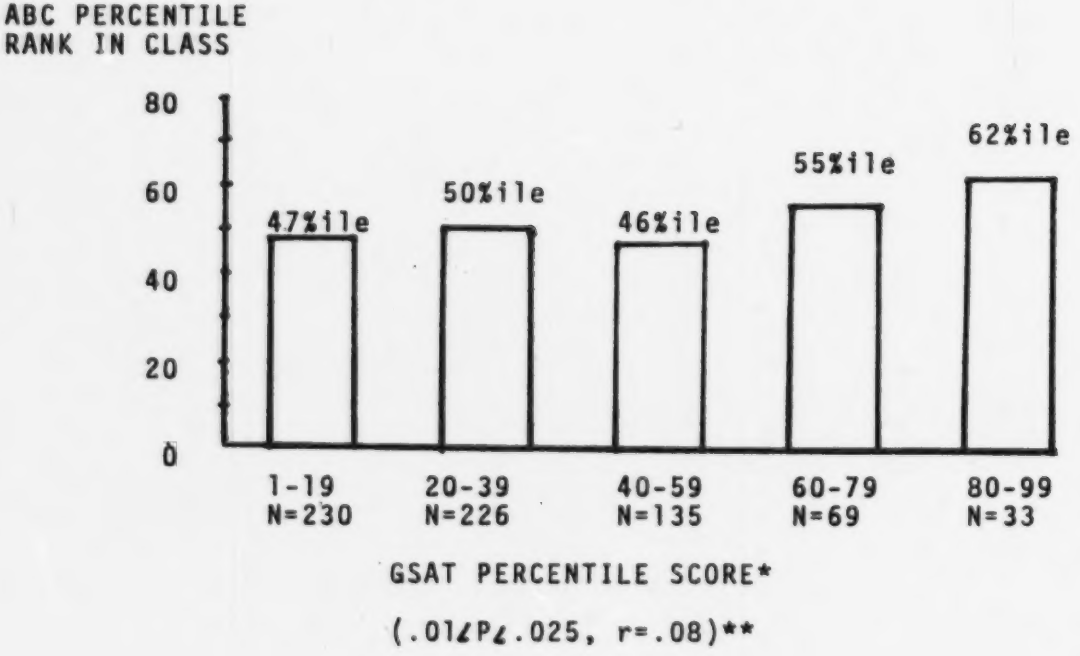
FIGURE 6. MEDIAN TWELFTH GRADE RANK IN CLASS IN RELATION TO RANK IN CLASS BEFORE ENTERING ABC



($P < .001$, $r = .15$)

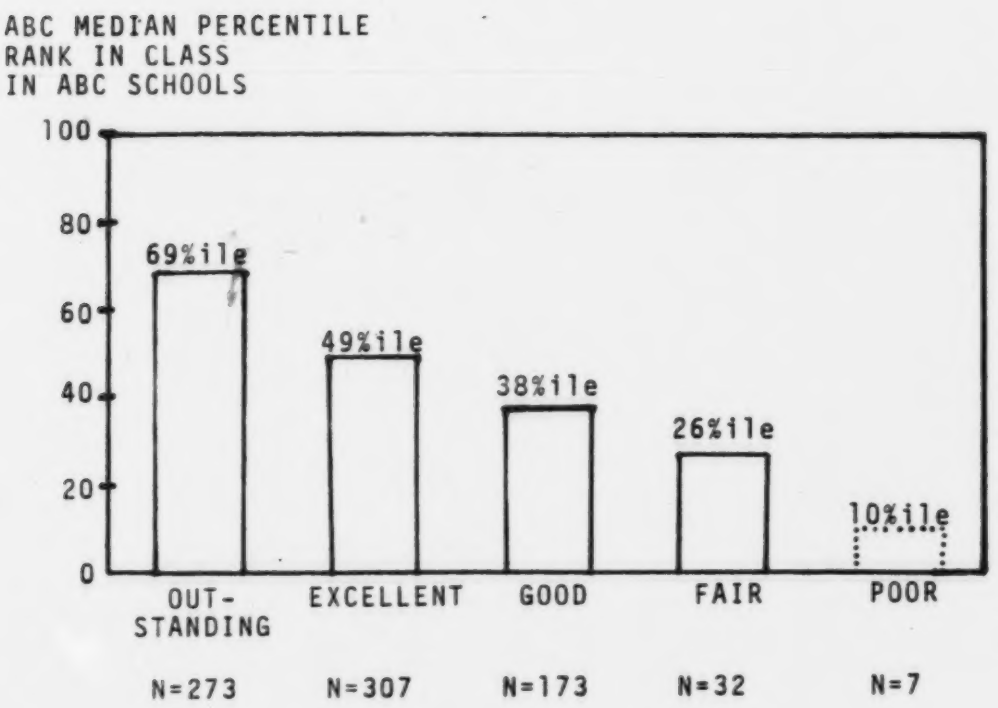
* THE RANK IN CLASS IN ABC OF STUDENTS WHO HAD BEEN IN THE BOTTOM HALF OF THEIR CLASS IN PUBLIC SCHOOL IS DISTORTED UPWARD RELATIVE TO OTHER ABC STUDENTS BY TWO FACTORS: 1) MOST OF THESE STUDENTS ATTENDED LESS COMPETITIVE ABC SCHOOLS, 2) A HIGHER PROPORTION OF THEM DROPPED OUT BEFORE REACHING TWELFTH GRADE.

FIGURE 7. MEDIAN TWELFTH GRADE RANK IN CLASS OF ABC STUDENTS IN RELATION TO GSAT SCORES PRIOR TO ENTERING INDEPENDENT SCHOOL



*GSAT IS THE COMPOSITE OF THE VERBAL AND QUANTITATIVE SECTIONS OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL ADMISSIONS TEST (SSAT).
**SINCE STUDENTS WITH HIGHER TEST SCORES TENDED TO BE PLACED IN MORE COMPETITIVE SCHOOLS, THIS CHART UNDERSTATES THE RELATION BETWEEN SSAT SCORES AND RANK IN CLASS. THE R'S ARE .13 FOR STUDENTS AT LESS COMPETITIVE SCHOOLS, .19 AT MODERATELY COMPETITIVE SCHOOLS, AND .23 AT HIGHLY COMPETITIVE SCHOOLS.

FIGURE 8. MEDIAN TWELFTH GRADE RANK IN CLASS OF ABC STUDENTS ASSOCIATED WITH COUNSELORS' RATINGS PRIOR TO ENTERING INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS



THE MEDIAN TWELFTH GRADE RANK IN CLASS OF STUDENTS WITH STRONG RECOMMENDATIONS WAS MUCH HIGHER THAN THAT OF STUDENTS WITH WEAKER RECOMMENDATIONS.

SECTION IIIB

ATTRITION

ATTRITION

Overall, the attrition rate of ABC students was 20%. (333 of the 1640 students scheduled to graduate by June 1972 dropped out.) This figure compares favorably with the rate of 30% for non-ABC students in member schools.* In the earlier years of the program, fewer than 20% of the ABC students dropped out, but by 1972 their attrition rate was approximately equal to that of their more affluent classmates.

ABC students were affected by nearly all the factors which related to attrition among non-ABC students. Some were expelled for disciplinary problems or academic failure. Academics were certainly a factor, as the average grade point average was 1.6, on a scale of four, for those who dropped out, compared to 2.6 for those who remained in the program. Other students chose to withdraw because of homesickness or the restrictions placed on their daily activities and social life. The following statements are typical of those made by a number of students:

> I was really homesick...I had a girlfriend. My sister was telling me that they missed me. They tried to make it as much like home as possible, but it just wasn't the same--it just didn't appeal to me...as far as being away from home, man, I don't think anything can take the place.

> Your day was scheduled--you couldn't fit anything into it that you wanted to do. At ----Academy, I felt closed in and watched. At home I feel free.

---

*The 30% figure was determined using information supplied by five representative ABC schools.

Some ABC students indicated that they experienced a decline in status, having had major responsibilities at home--taking care of younger siblings and helping the family financially. They reported that in boarding school they were treated like children. (Students who left for this reason sometimes had a need to be needed which may have exceeded their actual usefulness at home.)

In many ways adjustment at independent school was more difficult for ABC students than for their classmates. Many of the students who traditionally enrolled in independent secondary schools came from independent elementary schools. Even those affluent students who had attended public elementary schools experienced far less culture shock than those coming from poverty neighborhoods, particularly from minority group backgrounds. For ABC students the "two worlds" of school and home were much more different from each other than were the two worlds of the non-ABC student.

ABC students also faced a considerable change in academic demands. They were generally accustomed to ranking high in their classes without a great deal of effort. A student who returned home said, "I'm smart here (at home) but was not so smart at ---- School." An additional difference between some ABC students and their classmates which may have contributed more to ABC attrition was that in many cases ABC parents had little specific knowledge of what their children were going to experience

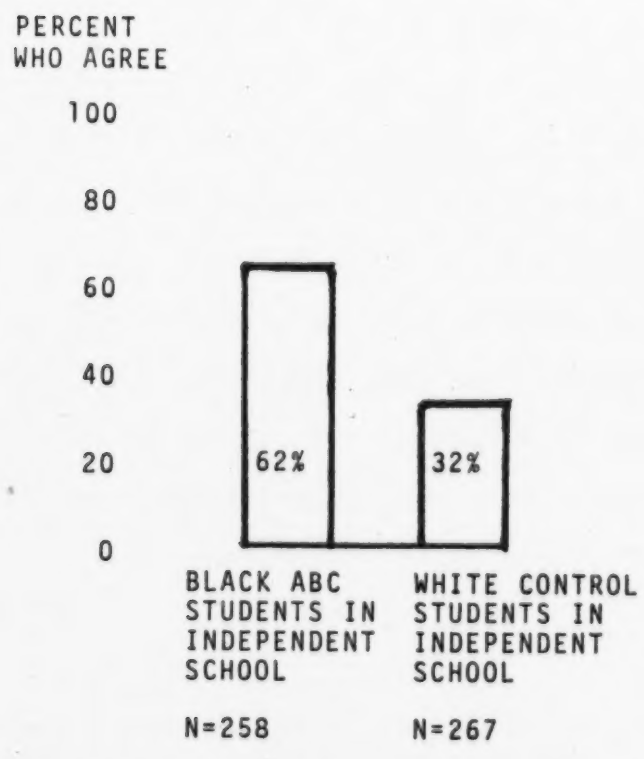
in independent school. The resource person who recommended the student may have been more enthusiastic than the parents about the program and the parents might have been reluctant to have their child leave home. Therefore, an ABC student leaving school was not rejecting family tradition in the way a more affluent student might have been doing.

One possible reason why the attrition rate of ABC students was lower than that of their affluent classmates is that it was more important for them to attend independent boarding schools. The founders of ABC generally assumed that the ABC students would come from neighborhoods which provided little opportunity for academic development and college admission. Another explanation of the lower ABC attrition rate is that ABC students were more likely to feel what can be termed "the burden of opportunity". This concept is related to the statement, "People back home expect so much of me that I can't let them down by not doing well in school." Figure 9 shows that ABC students were much more likely to agree with the statement than were their white classmates.

A number of comments by ABC students referred to this feeling:

> My mother really counted on me because I would be the only one to come to prep school and go to college.
>
> I find it very hard to survive in the white male atmosphere, but I'm not leaving here because I feel that I owe it to the black people to stay here.

FIGURE 9. PERCENTAGE OF ABC STUDENTS AND WHITE INDEPENDENT SCHOOL STUDENTS WHO AGREED WITH THE STATEMENT: "PEOPLE BACK HOME EXPECT SO MUCH OF ME THAT I CAN'T LET THEM DOWN BY NOT DOING WELL IN SCHOOL."



> When it comes to the parents you are a standard bearer. No one from Birmingham comes to prep school and when you go away there are so many burdens on you about doing well from your old high school, from your old elementary school, from your church and your parents. You always have to set good examples for everybody else. I wouldn't dare write home and say I'm ready to come home.
>
> I'm trying to study hard and progress academically. I don't think that the ABC Program is asking too much of me. They're giving me a chance to go to a better college. Even though I do feel homesick and sometimes put down, I have to stand up and be strong. I should try and do well; and if I don't I'm just wasting a scholarship that someone more deserving could have used.

While the burden of opportunity did put pressure on ABC students, it is possible that this was a positive kind of a pressure, as long as the feeling did not become overwhelming.

The overall ABC rate was 20%, but some subgroups of ABC students dropped out at a higher rate, while others dropped out at a lower rate. Among individual ABC schools, ABC attrition ranged from 0 to 50%. However, no statistically significant difference existed among various *types* of schools. At groups of schools with varying degrees of competitiveness, structure, support, and ABC enrollment, coed and non-coed, attrition ranged between 16% and 22%.

Some characteristics relating to students' background did prove significant. Attrition did not vary with parents' education, income or students' family size, but it did with sex, race, geography, parents' marital status, and family welfare status.

Attrition of female ABC students (14%) was significantly lower than for male students (22%).

Black and Puerto Rican students were significantly less likely to drop out than white and American Indian students. One might assume that the higher white attrition rate was due to the fact that white ABC students were poor and therefore would feel uncomfortable in ABC schools because of a class difference. Moreover, poor whites would not have the extra strength that minority students derive from feelings of racial pride. An examination of the attitudes of white ABC students indicated that they were relatively happy and well-adjusted in their member schools. 83% of them agreed with the statement: "I feel I am a fully accepted member of the school community." It was their relationships at home which caused them greater problems leading to attrition. The family and friends of white students showed greater resentment of their changing attitudes and values than did the family and friends of black students. It may be that poor whites view upward mobility with more suspicion than do poor blacks.

Nearly half of the American Indian students who enrolled in the ABC Program dropped out. Why was this the case? One reason was that the personnel in independent schools, like people in the whole society, were relatively ignorant of the cultures from which these students came. They therefore found

FIGURE 10a. PERCENTAGE OF ATTRITION OF FEMALE AND MALE ABC STUDENTS

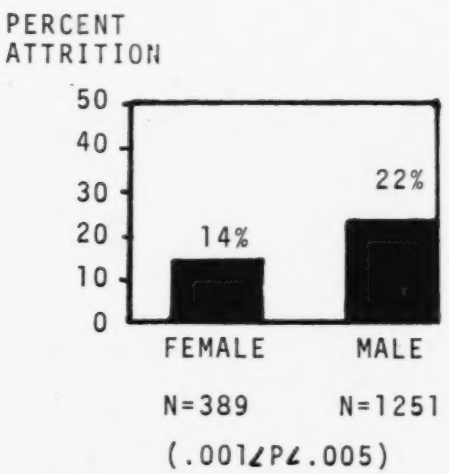


FIGURE 10b. PERCENTAGE OF ATTRITION OF ABC STUDENTS, BY RACE

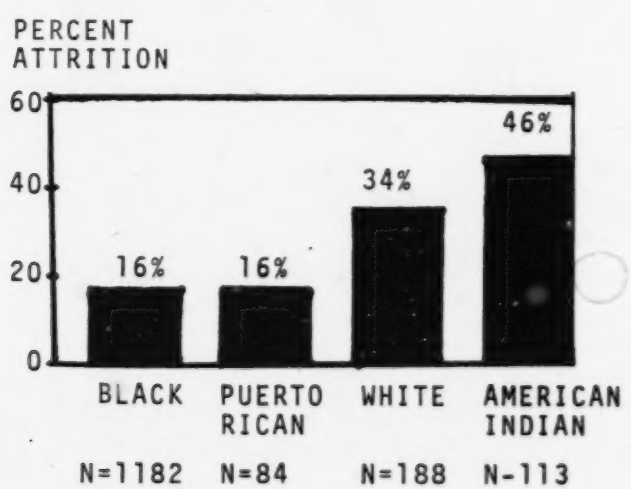
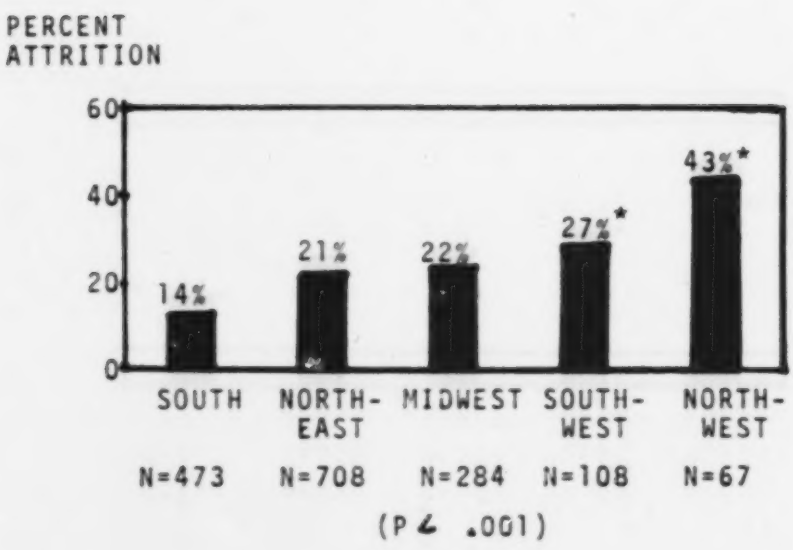


FIGURE 11. PERCENTAGE OF ATTRITION OF ABC STUDENTS, BY GEOGRAPHICAL REGION OF HOME COMMUNITY



*THE SOUTHWEST AND NORTHWEST HAD A HIGHER PERCENTAGE OF AMERICAN INDIANS THAN THE OTHER REGIONS. ATTRITION OF NON-INDIANS FROM THE WEST WAS EQUIVALENT TO THAT OF NON-INDIANS IN THE MIDWEST AND NORTHEAST.

it difficult to establish the kind of relationships with Indian students which could sustain them in times of difficulty. Characteristics such as verbosity, competitiveness, and aggressiveness are much more common among white and black students and schools often reacted negatively to American Indians who were less likely to possess them. In many other ways, Indian students were far more different from the typical boarding student than the black ABC students.

It is difficult to assess accurately the data on Indian attrition because all Indians have been considered as one group, when in fact they have come from many tribes which differ vastly. Because the total number of American Indians in the program has not been large, it was not possible to analyze the performance of members of individual tribes with statistical significance. Given the fact that Indian students did come from such a variety of backgrounds, serving these students in an enlightened manner presented ABC schools with an almost overwhelming task of self-education. It was not an impossible task, however. One of the faculty members at an ABC school, for example, enjoyed outstanding success and the Indian attrition was even lower than that of poor whites and blacks at his school.[17]

The treatment of both blacks and Indians throughout American history has been immoral; however, the institution of

slavery more completely destroyed black Americans' ties to their original heritage than did Government treatment of American Indians. Thus, many Indian students came to ABC schools with little contact off the reservation and with a knowledge of their native language and a set of values similar to that of their ancestors. In many respects they were more Eastern than Western, and their thought processes were difficult for their fellow students and faculty members to understand. Feeling out of place, they were more likely to return home than were black students who may have felt that it was worthwhile to attempt to change the institutions to meet their needs. This might not have been the case if Indians were as firm in their belief that they would benefit in the long run by attending private boarding school during high school.

Many ABC blacks shared the aspirations of middle class white society and placed a high value on attending a prestigious college and obtaining a professional occupation. While they were concerned about retaining a commitment to their people, they were aware of the existence of a large black middle class population and could see themselves joining this group. For American Indians the choice was much more difficult. They were taking a much greater risk of isolating themselves from their own people by becoming a part of the "mainstream of American society." Several Indian ABC students made statements such as: "I had to go back home because I found I was changing too much

and feared I would no longer be accepted if I stayed away from the reservation any longer." In fact, the educational and occupational aspirations of each racial group tended to correspond closely to their attrition rates. Four questions dealt with educational and occupational aspirations, and in each case, black ABC students had the most ambitious hopes and American Indians the least.* Figure 12 indicates the proportions of each group planning to 1) Enter college, 2) Graduate from college, 3) Attend graduate school, and 4) Attain a professional occupation.

Nearly all the Southern ABC students were black, and they were described by member schools as highly motivated. The Southern attrition rate was a remarkably low 14%, less than half of the independent school overall rate of 30%. The higher Western attrition was largely due to the proportion of Indian students.

Students whose parents were separated or divorced were more likely to drop out of ABC schools, and those whose families were dependent on welfare had a higher attrition rate than students whose parents were employed.

Students' academic strength in public school before they enrolled in ABC schools was consistent with their attrition rate

---

*Although aspirations of black students were highest, those of white, Puerto Rican and American Indian ABC students were all higher than the national average for high school students, as indicated by the Coleman report.

FIGURE 12. EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF BLACK, WHITE, PUERTO RICAN, AND AMERICAN INDIAN ABC STUDENTS

	BLACK	WHITE	PUERTO RICAN	AMERICAN INDIAN	SIGNIFICANCE
ENTER COLLEGE	91%	87%	83%	82%	$.005 < P < .01$
GRADUATE FROM COLLEGE	91%	83%	81%	79%	$.005 < P < .01$
ATTEND GRADUATE SCHOOL	65%	52%	45%	37%	$P < .001$
ATTAIN PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATION	76%	71%	66%	62%	$.025 < P < .05$
	N=308	N=54	N=84	N=62	

in boarding school. Interestingly, their test scores (on the Secondary School Admissions Test) were not good predictors of attrition, but Figures 13 and 14 show that higher rank in class, and higher counselor ratings of them "as a student" and "as a person" did correlate with lower attrition.

A high proportion of the students whose previous grades and counselors' ratings were not strong dropped out. This indicates that ABC schools were somewhat limited in their ability to work successfully with "risk" students. An effort to increase the proportion of such students could be counter-productive. Many unsuccessful students develop negative attitudes toward school for reasons which may not be considered their own fault; however, they may find it difficult to change long-standing behavior patterns, even when changing to an environment which is more conducive to learning. The counselor's ratings of ABC students "as a person" in public school before entering ABC was a good predictor of attrition. This is logical, since students' ability to get along successfully with others is such an important characteristic in a boarding school.

When one examines both twelfth grade rank in class and attrition rates at the same time, it becomes even more obvious that previous academic strength is related to success in ABC schools. Of 100 students rated "outstanding" or "excellent" as a student, 84 remained until graduation, and the median rank in

FIGURE 13. PERCENTAGE OF ATTRITION OF ABC STUDENTS IN RELATION TO RANK IN CLASS PRIOR TO ENTERING ABC

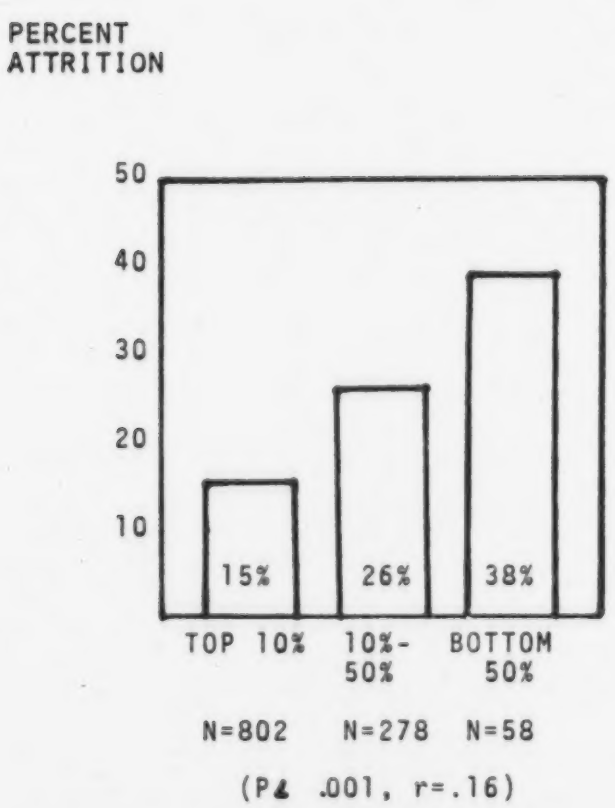
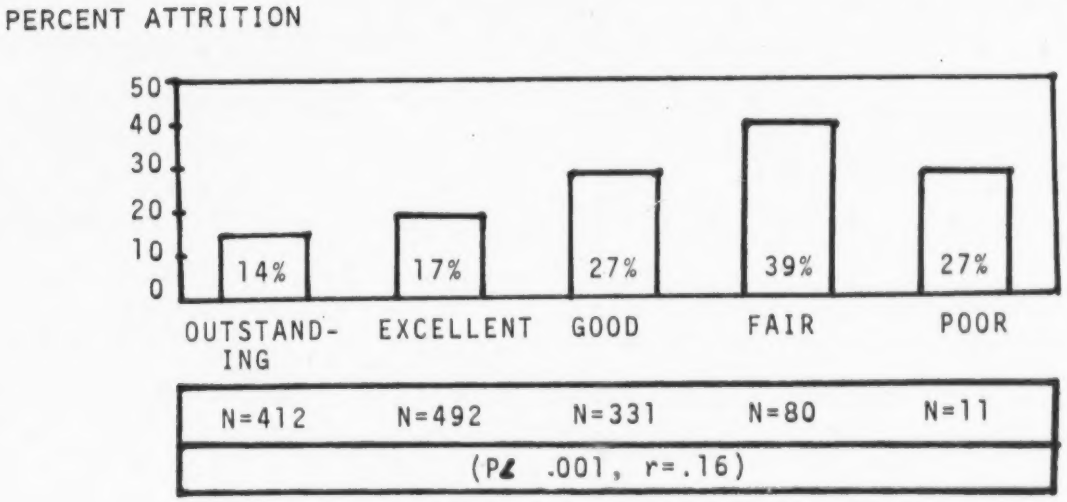
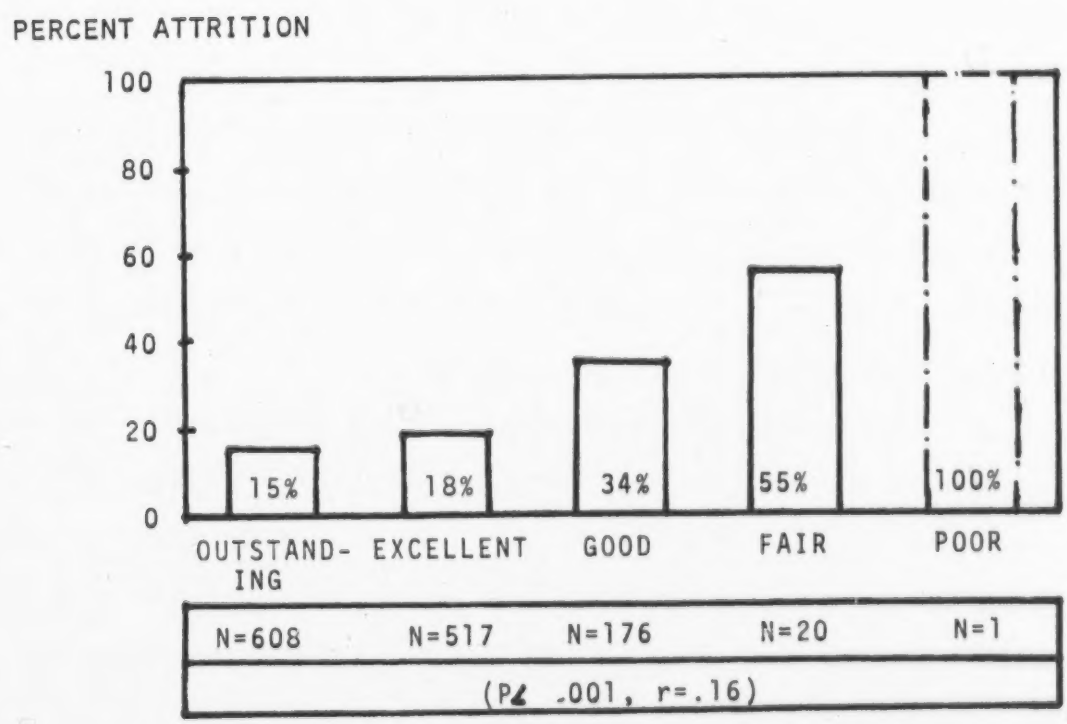


FIGURE 14. PERCENTAGE OF ATTRITION OF ABC STUDENTS ASSOCIATED WITH COUNSELOR'S RATINGS PRIOR TO ENTERING INDEPENDENT SCHOOL



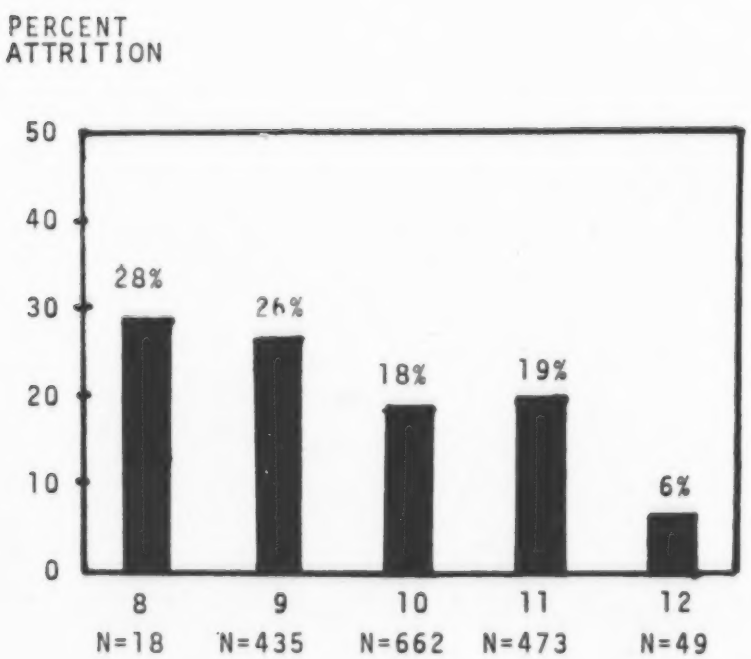


class of the graduates was the 58th percentile. On the other hand, of 100 students rated "fair" or "poor," 61 remained until graduation, and their median twelfth grade rank in class was the 23rd percentile.

The grade of entry into the ABC program was also significantly related to attrition. As Figure 15 shows, those who entered grade eight or nine were more likely to drop out than those entering the upper grades. One might feel that if students enrolled when they were younger, they would have been more comfortable in an independent school environment and therefore would have remained until graduation. However, some students indicated that in the eighth or ninth grade, they were too young to know their long-range goals and to make a commitment to attending independent school. Moreover, students who entered earlier had a longer time during which to drop out. A school which found an entering ninth grade student difficult to work with might have been more inclined to dismiss him at the end of one year than they would an entering junior.

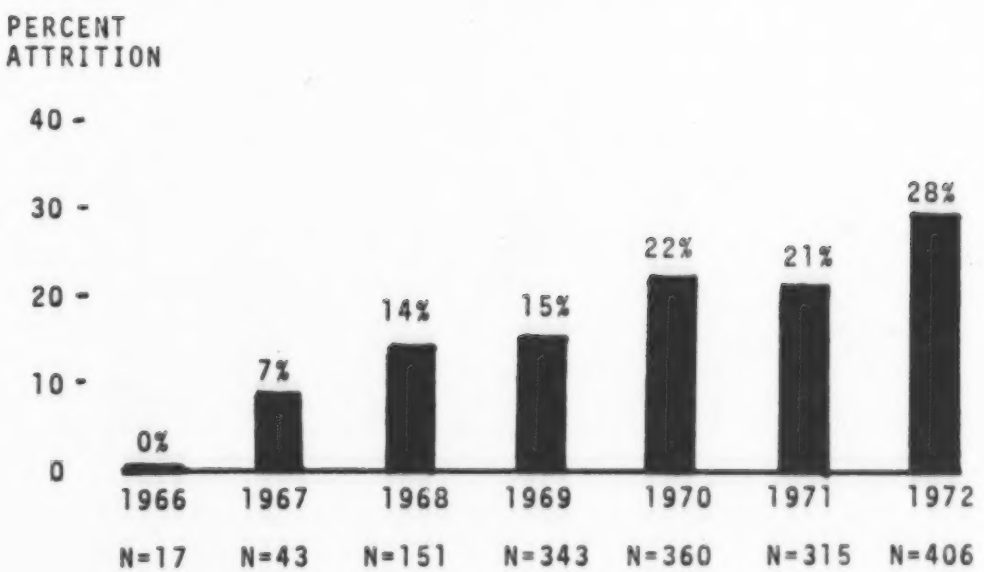
One of the more striking findings in the study of ABC attrition is the substantial increase which took place. The average was a very satisfactory 20%. In the early years of the program it was even lower, while in recent years it has been higher, reaching the level of 28% for the graduating class of 1972. (See Figure 16)

FIGURE 15. PERCENT OF ATTRITION OF ABC STUDENTS BY GRADE OF ENTRY INTO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL



($P < .001$)

FIGURE 16. PERCENTAGE OF ATTRITION OF ABC STUDENTS BY YEAR OF SCHEDULED GRADUATION FROM INDEPENDENT SCHOOL



($p < .001$)

In attempting to explain this increased attrition, it is important to consider whether changes took place in 1) the academic strength of ABC students, 2) ABC schools, and 3) society as a whole. As the program began in 1964, the class of 1968 was the first to include four-year students. Moreover, it was the first class with more than 100 members, so it represents a good "base" for purposes of comparison.

Overall, the ABC class of 1972 was as strong as that of 1968. Students' public school rank in class and counselors' ratings were not significantly different, and the proportion of students from "high attrition" categories (whites and Indians, broken homes, welfare recipients, males, students entering grade eight or nine) was similar. Figures 17 and 18 indicate that attrition increased for students of varying strength. Attrition by students entering grade nine rose from 29% to 34%, by students entering grade ten from 11% to 25%, and by students entering grade eleven from 12% to 28%. While white, Puerto Rican, and Indian attrition did not follow any clear pattern (possibly because of small numbers), black attrition rose from 10% by the class of 1968 to 25% by the class of 1972. Southern attrition showed a sharp increase, from 6% to 25%, and Northeast attrition from 12% to 28%.

If increased attrition was not caused by including riskier students in the program, possible explanations lie within the member schools and the outside society. Surprisingly, the

FIGURE 17. PERCENTAGE OF ATTRITION OF ABC STUDENTS RELATED TO RANK IN CLASS PRIOR TO ENTERING INDEPENDENT SCHOOL: CLASS OF 1968 VS. CLASS OF 1972

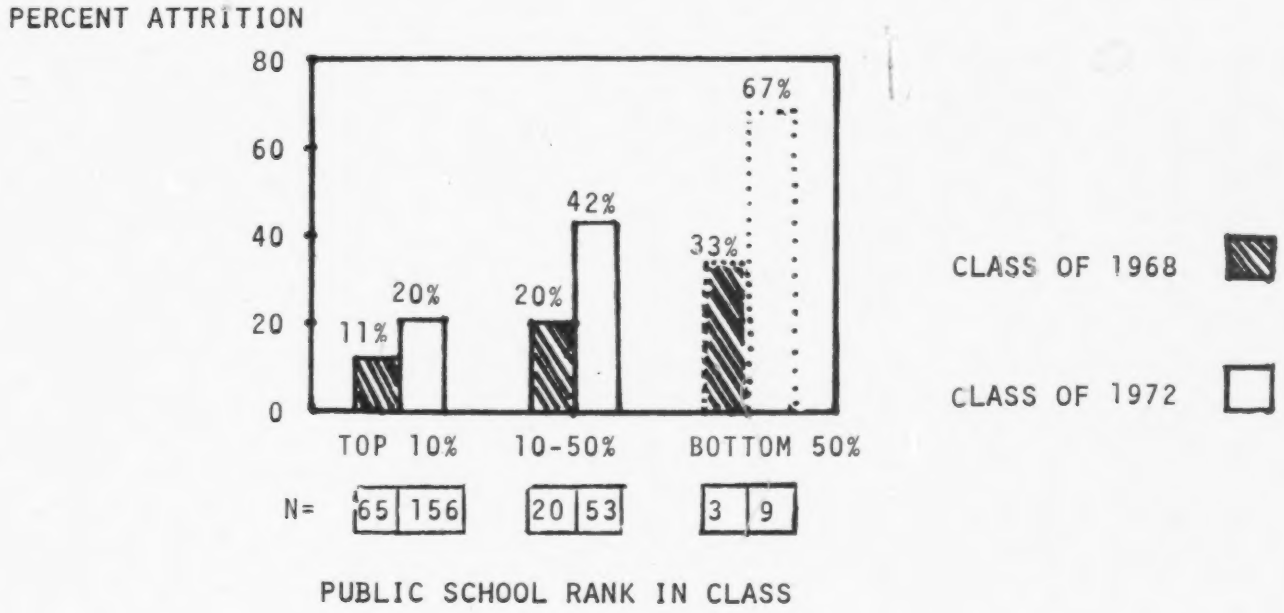
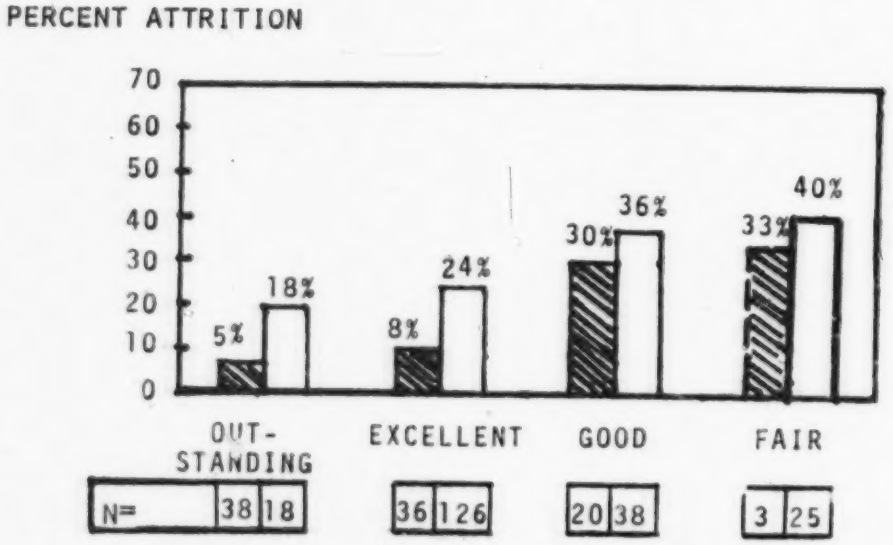
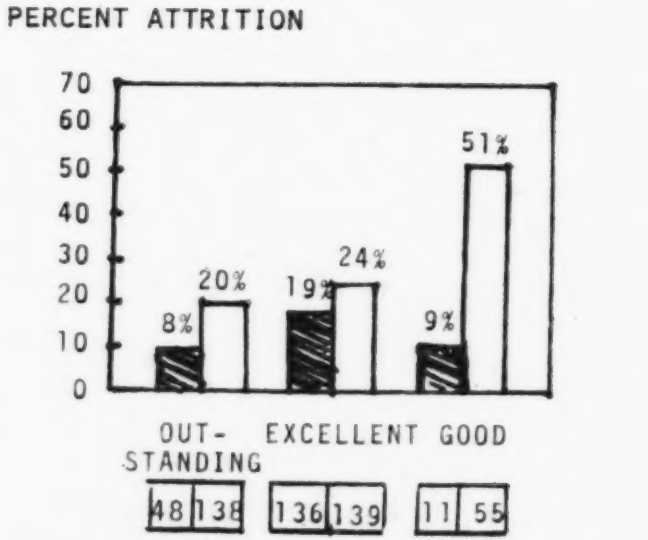


FIGURE 18. PERCENTAGE OF ATTRITION OF ABC STUDENTS ASSOCIATED WITH COUNSELOR'S RATINGS PRIOR TO ENTERING INDEPENDENT SCHOOL: CLASS OF 1968 VS. CLASS OF 1972





* NO STUDENT RATED POOR IN 1968; 5 IN 1972.
** NO STUDENTS RATED FAIR OR POOR IN 1968; 4 IN 1972.

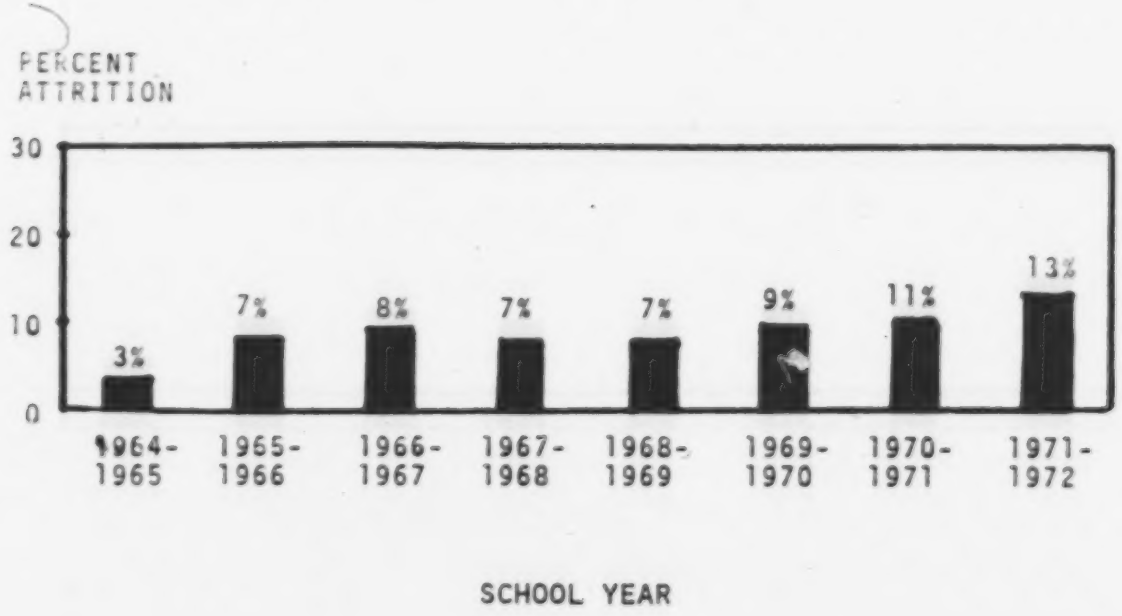
CLASS OF 1968
CLASS OF 1972

figures supplied by member schools indicated only a modest increase in attrition among non-ABC students. The figure of 30% was fairly consistent during the existence of the ABC Program, so that while ABC attrition was half that of the overall student populations of their schools in 1968, it had approximately reached that of their classmates in 1972. Figure 19 shows the attrition of ABC students during each school year since the program started. During the 1964-65 school year, 3% of those enrolled dropped out, as compared to 13% of the ABC students in the program during the 1971-72 school year.

It is possible that changes within the schools, such as a reduction in structure, could produce an increase in attrition for ABC students but not for more affluent students. However, a comparison of ABC attrition at highly structured schools and at less structured schools shows no significant difference in attrition rates among ABC students.

Most likely, the change in attrition was due to changes in society over which the ABC staff and member schools had little control. The increase in black racial consciousness, pride, and separatist ideology made it more difficult for some students to remain in predominantly white schools. One student who attended a Massachusetts boarding school for two years and had a successful record, returned home for his senior year of high school. He said, "They were two separate worlds, and I

FIGURE 19. PERCENTAGE OF ATTRITION OF ABC STUDENTS ENROLLED IN INDEPENDENT SCHOOL, BY SCHOOL YEAR



wanted to be in the black one." The "one integrated world" envisioned by some of the founders of ABC in 1963 seemed like less of a possibility or a goal in 1972.

The changes in Southern society increased the desire of many Southern blacks to return home. Not only did ABC Southern attrition soar from 6% to 24%, but a higher proportion of Southern black ABC graduates chose to return to the South for college. While only 19% had done so prior to 1972, the percentage rose to 34% for the 1972 graduates.

Changes in college recruiting policies probably also contributed to the increase in ABC attrition, since many ABC students had friends at home who were successful in gaining college admission without a program such as ABC. Whereas few colleges were seeking out talented minority group students in 1964, there was a steady increase after that time, and many prestige colleges sent representatives to the very high schools ABC students would have attended had they remained at home. One student who dropped out and returned home said, "I want to be a writer...I think the opportunities would be greater at private school, but I think I will probably get everything I need to make it at home...I think I can go to college after high school." Given the highly competitive nature of most ABC schools, the type of disadvantaged students who were likely to be successful may also have had a better chance at home than they did when ABC was founded.

If the ABC staff finds the 28% attrition rate unacceptable, the program could find ways to reduce attrition over time, but these would probably be considered counter-productive. For example, ABC could select fewer students from welfare families, fewer from broken homes and concentrate on those with the strongest academic records in public school. But, even the "safest" students have a 15% attrition rate, and a reduction would mean eliminating the students who most need to attend boarding school in order to prepare for college. A greater effort could be made to find students in areas (or individual public schools) from which a particularly small number of students attend college, but even these places may change during the next few years.

A certain amount of attrition is probably healthy for individual schools and for ABC. Unless admissions policies are overly conservative, some "risk" students will always be accepted, not all of whom will be successful. Moreover, there are bound to be some students who are very much dissatisfied with their situations and who should be permitted to leave. According to Dr. Chester Pierce, "There is a great benefit in people deselecting themselves rather than the organization deselecting them. If ABC attrition is not much different from that of the general population, there is no great problem." A previous study of ABC attrition by Wessman [18] indicated that those who dropped out were not seriously harmed by their boarding school

experience and, for the most part, returned home to public school. A preliminary study of more recent attrition does not contradict this finding. (But it would be worthwhile making a fuller investigation, since some of the students who recently dropped out attended ABC schools for as long as three years. Discussions with several students who dropped out in their senior year indicated that they might have had some problems in reorientation to home and in gaining admission to college.)

It should be noted that the vast majority of ABC students continued to remain enrolled even though they also experienced homesickness, culture shock, poor social life, academic struggle, a greater racial consciousness, and an awareness that friends at home were going to college. If the ABC rate remains at its current level, there should be no great cause for concern. However, a continued upward climb may indicate a need to rethink some of the basic goals of the program.

In summary, ABC students dropped out for some of the same reasons as non-ABC students. Their educational and occupational aspirations were related to their likelihood of completing the program. However, some aspects of their experience were different from those of other students, and affected their likelihood of dropping out of the program. Culture shock was certainly more of a problem for ABC students than for those from more affluent backgrounds, which could have led to higher ABC

attrition. On the other hand, the fact that ABC students had fewer options made dropping out a more serious problem for them. In addition, the "burden of opportunity" reduced the likelihood of their returning home, even if they found the ABC experience undesirable.

Overall, approximately 20% of the ABC students dropped out of the program, compared to 30% of non-ABC students in independent schools. Some subgroups of ABC students were less likely than others to drop out. Females had a lower attrition rate than males, blacks and Puerto Ricans lower than whites and Indians, Southern students lower than those from other parts of the country, and students whose parents were together and employed lower than those from broken homes and those whose parents were dependent on welfare. Students who previously were most successful in school were less likely to drop out, and those who entered independent school in the tenth grade were less likely to drop out than those who entered in grade nine. There was a fairly steady increase in attrition over time. The rate of attrition of ABC students in the class of 1972 was twice that of those in the class of 1968, and increased to the level of affluent white independent school students.

SECTION IIIC

TESTING

TESTING

One of the methods of assessing the progress of ABC students in secondary schools was a study of their scores on standardized aptitude and achievement tests. The test scores of ABC students were examined in an effort to provide answers to the following questions: 1) How did their progress compare with that of similar students who attended public school? 2) How did it compare with progress which was made by more affluent students in independent schools? 3) Were there sub-groups of ABC students who had particularly good or poor results? The following comments briefly answer these questions, and they will be dealt with in detail later in this section.

A previous study (Wessman)[19] showed that ABC students made slightly greater progress on the Otis IQ Test than a control group of students who remained at home. The control group's average Otis score slipped several points while the ABC group remained unchanged. On English achievement tests, Wessman found no significant difference between ABC students and controls.

This study also found very slight difference in test score performance of ABC students and control groups. A small group of ABC students and matched controls took the SSAT in grade eight or nine and the SAT in grade twelve. They made approximately the same amount of progress on the Verbal tests,

but the controls made more progress on the Quantitative.* Another comparison indicated that unlike the norm**, ABC students scored slightly but significantly higher on the English Composition section of the CEEB than they did on the SAT Verbal in grade twelve.

On the average, ABC students made less test score progress than their more affluent non-ABC independent school classmates. While this finding is disappointing, the performance of some subgroups of ABC students provides cause for some optimism. ABC students who were enrolled in highly structured schools made as much progress on standardized tests as their non-ABC classmates, and those who attended ABC schools for four years rather than three made nearly as much progress.

Before describing the test score findings in detail, it is worthwhile considering the appropriateness of using standardized tests to assess the progress of ABC students. Jencks wrote:

> If and when we begin to unravel the determinants of children's eventual life chances, we will find that attending a school which boosts achievement scores is of very limited value. Attending a school which develops the "right" habits and attitudes will prove to be of somewhat greater value...Schools

---

*The amount of progress was defined as the difference between the scores on the two tests.
**The average for the total population of high school seniors, and for a subgroup of talented black high school seniors.

> which develop the habits and values that facilitate adult success will often not be especially effective at boosting children's scores.[20]

The founders of ABC assumed that attending a prestigious college was an important factor in improving a student's life chances. Later in this report, it will be shown that SAT scores were an important determinant of the type of college ABC students attended. The decision of some college admissions officers to disregard test scores has received considerable publicity, but this trend has not yet become widespread. If it is true that students with higher test scores are more likely to attend prestigious colleges and that attending prestigious colleges increases one's life chances, then programs working with disadvantaged students (or any students) have a legitimate concern about test scores.

The fact that colleges place a heavy reliance on test scores is not sufficient reason to conclude that the scores are valid predictors of success in college. However, numerous studies have shown that the use of College Board scores does result in a somewhat more reliable predictor than the use of high school grades alone. This is true for minority group students as well as for white students.[21] While the predictive value is far from perfect, the SAT's do correlate moderately with achievement in college. SSAT scores of ABC students were similarly modestly correlated with ABC students' grades in secondary school.

Most ABC students took the Secondary School Admissions Test (SSAT) as part of their application to the ABC program. Virtually all of them took the SAT while applying to college. The Educational Testing Service compiled a table predicting SAT scores from SSAT scores on the basis of a study of more than 3,000 mostly middle and upper class independent school students. It was therefore possible to examine the test score progress of ABC students using these measures at the beginning and end of their ABC experience.

The ABC results support the hypothesis that test score changes are related to students' mastery of their secondary school curriculum. ABC students with stronger secondary school records made greater test score progress. For example, ABC students who graduated in the top quintile in their schools scored significantly higher than predicted on the Verbal section of the SAT ($.001 < P < .025$) and at the predicted level on the Math section of the SAT. However, ABC students who graduated in the bottom quintile of their classes scored significantly lower than predicted ($P < .001$) on both sections of the SAT's. (See Figure 20)

Higher test scores were related to academic achievement, and to some extent determined the type of college ABC students entered. However, some educators feel that even if test score progress is important, one might be advised to avoid emphasizing scores, as the results are often misinterpreted.

FIGURE 20. ABC STUDENTS' TEST SCORE PROGRESS, RELATED TO TWELFTH GRADE RANK IN CLASS IN INDEPENDENT SCHOOL

RANK IN CLASS	FIRST QUINTILE	SECOND QUINTILE	THIRD QUINTILE	FOURTH QUINTILE	FIFTH QUINTILE
ACHIEVED SAT-VERBAL	537	498	502	497	489
PREDICTED SAT-VERBAL	522	512	524	514	516
ACHIEVED MINUS PREDICTED	+15	-14	-22	-17	-27
SIGNIFI-CANCE	.01<P<.025	.001<P<.005	P<.001	.001<P<.005	P<.001
ACHIEVED SAT-MATH	567	542	530	521	528
PREDICTED SAT-MATH	567	552	540	540	547
ACHIEVED MINUS PREDICTED	0	-10	-10	-19	-19
SIGNIFICANCE	N.S.	N.S.	N.S.	P<.001	P<.001

Students who achieve low test scores at the earliest grade levels are prevented from attending classes with "stronger" students, and are excluded from channels which lead to college. In the hands of racist officials, test scores are used as a means of defending segregated schools and preventing strong minority students from entering honors classes in colleges. Scores are sometimes viewed as measures of ability instead of as a means of obtaining a rough approximation of students' achievement levels. It is therefore understandable that standardized tests are regarded with considerable suspicion by large segments of the society.

It would be unfortunate if the feelings which have developed regarding test scores result in a rejection of testing as a means of assessing academic achievement. It is extremely important to continue to evaluate the effectiveness of educational programs, in order to make progress in developing institutions which can better serve disadvantaged students. Although standardized tests are far from perfect, they often do represent instruments which are useful.

Few of the efforts to evaluate the impact of educational programs on test scores claim to have found dramatic progress, and generally, reports of progress are based on short-term studies of elementary level students. Most studies have had

disappointing findings.

In 1966, Roberts and Oppenheim reported on an experiment designed to improve test scores by coaching 720 eleventh grade students who were attending predominately black high schools. They used the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Tests and indicated that "The outcome of this study, like those of earlier studies investigating whether coaching can raise aptitude test scores, is essentially negative."[22]

According to Herrnstein,

> At around adolescence, people seem to stop acquiring new intellectual powers, as distinguished from new information or interests. For example, immediate memory span grows until the age of fifteen, but not thereafter. The average person can repeat seven digits at fifteen or fifty.[23]

Armor indicated that standardized test scores of students participating in METCO were not increased and made the more sweeping statement that "There have been no published reports which have concluded that any strictly educational reform has significantly affected academic achievement as measured by standardized tests."[24]

Since ABC provided a more intensive form of compensatory education than most other programs which have been studied, the ABC findings are worth considering. The ABC results support

the conclusion that most schools as they are presently constituted are not likely to boost the scores of disadvantaged students, particularly at the high school level. The independent boarding schools which are members of the ABC program are considered to be superior to most public schools in the country, but few of them produced substantial changes.*

How did the test score progress of ABC students compare with that of similar students who attended public school at home? Unfortunately, it was not possible to provide a conclusive answer to this question. Among the 47 students who were mentioned in the description of the 1967 Control Group Study, complete information was available on only 13 students. This was due to the fact that many did not apply to college and of those who did, some did not take the SAT.

On the average, there was no significant difference in test score progress on the SAT-Verbal between the ABC students

---

*During the meetings in 1963 which led to the establishment of ABC, one of the subjects of discussion was the Scholastic Aptitude Test. This test was seen by some as a barrier to disadvantaged students seeking admission at competitive colleges which relied heavily on the SAT in selecting students. ABC schools would therefore work with students with leadership ability and with good school records whose public school teachers felt had more ability than the SAT's indicated. If these students could succeed at independent schools (and fill in their "cultural gaps"), competitive colleges would be willing to accept them; however, on the basis of past experience, the headmasters were almost unanimous in their feeling that the SAT scores would not be substantially affected.

FIGURE 21. COMPARISON OF TEST SCORE PROGRESS OF ABC STUDENTS AND CONTROL GROUP ATTENDING PUBLIC SCHOOL AT HOME*

	ABC STUDENTS (N=13)		CONTROL STUDENTS (N=13)	
	ACHIEVED	PREDICTED	ACHIEVED	PREDICTED
SAT VERBAL	479	508	473	506
	(.01<P<.025)		(.01<P<.025)	
SAT MATH	512	549	552	551
	(.005<P<.01)		(N.S.)	

BOTH ABC AND CONTROLS MADE LESS PROGRESS THAN THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOL NORMS ON THE VERBAL TESTS. ABC STUDENTS ALSO MADE LESS PROGRESS ON THE MATH TESTS, BUT THE CONTROLS ACHIEVED THEIR PREDICTED SCORES.

---

*As measured by SSAT in grade eight or nine and twelfth grade SAT.

and the controls. On the Math section of the SAT, the control group made greater progress ($.005 < P < .01$). It would not be appropriate to come to any conclusions based on results of only thirteen pairs of students. It is likely that there is a bias in these results as only a small proportion of the control group of 47 students took the SAT. These students tended to be the ones who were the most successful in high school, and they were likely to have made greater test score progress. Among all ABC students, those who had stronger high school records did, in fact, show greater progress on standardized tests.

A previous study of the ABC Program made by Dr. Alden Wessman included an examination of test score performance on the Cooperative English Test and the Otis IQ Test. Small groups of ABC students and controls were tested in 1965 and again two years later. Wessman reported that among eighteen matched pairs of students, "on the Cooperative English Test...the comparison of the ABC sub-sample and the matched controls...indicated *no* statistically significant changes." On the Otis Test, "the ABC sub-sample...showed...no significant change...but a statistically significant decrease of three IQ points for the Control Group."[25] This finding was based on the study of 23 matched pairs.

Thus, these preliminary results do not provide clear evidence that ABC students achieved higher scores than they would

have if they had remained in public school at home.

How did the test score progress of ABC students compare with that of their more affluent independent school classmates? On the average, ABC students achieved SAT Verbal scores fifteen points lower than predicted and Math scores thirteen points lower than predicted.

Their SAT scores were statistically significantly lower than the middle and upper class students, whose SSAT scores were equivalent to those of ABC students three or four years earlier. (Figure 22) One might feel that ABC students would make greater test score progress than their more advantaged classmates as a result of having moved to the environment of the independent boarding schools. This was not the case.*

The practice of comparing students in compensatory programs with white middle class students has been criticized by some researchers. However, in view of the fact that ABC students participated in a program which was designed to prepare them to compete successfully with other talented students, many of whom are from affluent families, and to enter the professions, it seems appropriate to compare them with their classmates.

The total group of ABC students' test scores increased

---

*It should be noted, however, that the academic performance of ABC students as measured by rank in class was better than that of their classmates who had equivalent test scores. While ABC students' scores were below the average of their classmates, their class rank was average.

FIGURE 22. TEST SCORE PROGRESS OF ABC STUDENTS VS. INDEPENDENT SCHOOL NORMS

	ACHIEVED	PREDICTED*	DIFFERENCE	SIGNIFICANCE
SAT VERBAL (N=619)	502	517	-15	P<.001
SAT MATH (N=618)	535	548	-13	P<.001

*Predicted scores are independent school norms for students with SSAT scores equal to those of ABC students at time of entry into independent school.

somewhat less than their classmates' test scores. However, some subgroups of ABC students made greater progress than others. Four-year ABC students made greater progress than three-year students. Their verbal score progress was only slightly less ($.005 < P < .001$) and their math score progress was *not* significantly different from their more affluent classmates. Since four-year ABC students made greater progress than three-year students, it is possible that the effects of the program on test scores were just beginning to take effect after several years of participation.

Students who were strongest before entering the program (those in the top 10% of their classes and those rated "outstanding" or "excellent" as a student) scored relatively higher than students with weaker records (students not in the top 10% of their classes and students rated "good", "fair", or "poor" as a student). Moreover, on the average, students whose test scores were higher *before* they entered ABC schools made greater progress on test scores than students whose initial scores were lower. Figure 24 shows that this was particularly true for students whose quantitative scores were high. Studies of a bussing program in Goldsboro, North Carolina [26] also reported that students with higher test scores were likely to show greater progress as measured by standardized tests.

The students who had been stronger before entering ABC might have made greater test score progress even if they had stayed at home. Were there any aspects of the environment in

FIGURE 23. COMPARISON OF TEST SCORE PROGRESS OF THREE AND FOUR-YEAR ABC STUDENTS

FOUR-YEAR	SAT VERBAL	SAT MATH
Achieved	516	543
Predicted	526	549
Difference	-10	-6
Significance	$.005 < P < .01$	N.S.
	(N=229)	(N=228)
THREE-YEAR		
Achieved	494	531
Predicted	513	548
Difference	-19	-17
Significance	$P < .001$	$P < .001$
	(N=390)	(N=390)

FIGURE 24. COMPARISON OF TEST SCORE PROGRESS OF ABC STUDENTS ENTERING THE PROGRAM WITH HIGH VS. LOW MATH SCORES*

HIGH SSAT QUANTITATIVE	SAT VERBAL	SAT MATH
Achieved	523 (N=327)	582 (N=327)
Predicted	529	589
Difference	-6	-7
Significance	.025<P<.05	.01<P<.025

LOW SSAT QUANTITATIVE	SAT VERBAL	SAT MATH
Achieved	478 (N=290)	482 (N=288)
Predicted	504	503
Difference	-26	-21
Significance	P<.001	P<.001

*High scores ≥ 30th %ile program score on the SSAT.
Low scores < 30th %ile program score on the SSAT.

ABC schools which seem to have been related to greater test score progress? The level of support schools provided ABC students was not related to test score growth. However, the level of *structure* did seem to be an important factor. ABC students in highly structured, moderately structured, and less structured schools entered the program with test scores which were similar. However, at the time they graduated from independent school, the scores of ABC students at highly structured schools were significantly higher than those of other ABC students. At highly structured schools, ABC students made test score progress which was not statistically significantly different from that of their more affluent classmates. In comparison with ABC students at less structured schools, who had equal scores when they entered ABC, ABC students at highly structured schools scored more than thirty points higher on both the Verbal and Math sections of the SAT. (See Figure 25)

The degree of structure had less effect on the non-ABC students in independent schools. The test score progress of students at a highly structured school and at a less structured school were studied in the same way that the ABC students' scores were examined. There was a difference of thirty-two points in the average SAT Verbal score of ABC students at highly structured and less structured schools. On the other hand, the affluent students at both highly structured and less structured schools achieved their predicted scores.

FIGURE 25. COMPARISON OF TEST SCORE PROGRESS OF ABC STUDENTS AT INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS WITH VARYING LEVELS OF STRUCTURE

HIGHLY STRUCTURED

	SAT-VERBAL	SAT-MATH
Achieved	522	557
Predicted	528	560
Achieved Minus Predicted	-6	-3
Significance	N.S. (N=250)	N.S. (N=250)

MODERATELY STRUCTURED

	SAT-VERBAL	SAT-MATH
Achieved	493	528
Predicted	511	542
Achieved Minus Predicted	-18	-14
Significance	P<.001 (N=286)	P<.001 (N=285)

LESS STRUCTURED

	SAT-VERBAL	SAT-MATH
Achieved	473	498
Predicted	511	540
Achieved Minus Predicted	-38	-42
Significance	P<.001 (N=67)	P<.001 (N=67)

On the Math section of the SAT, both ABC students and non-ABC students in less structured schools made less progress than their counterparts in highly structured schools. However, the differential was less than for non-ABC students. (See Figure 26)

Thus, if test score progress is a valid measure of academic growth, the movement in the direction of reducing structure, which is advocated by many affluent students, may be harmful to disadvantaged students.

In 1966, Bereiter and Engelmann published an evaluation of their Headstart Program, in which they indicated that if higher test scores and development of cognitive skills are major goals of educational programs working with disadvantaged students, programs would have to forego efforts to affect other areas.

> Reluctantly, educators...have had to recognize that they cannot do everything for the child that deserves doing, and that if they are to provide the quality of academic education that our society demands, they must allow certain other activities to be slighted.[27]

While it was fashionable at that time to talk about development of the "whole person" Bereiter and Engelmann felt that the educational needs of disadvantaged students were so great that programs had to relegate their non-academic activities to a lesser status.

> The idea that in order to produce a well-rounded child one must have a well-rounded program reveals an ignorance of the fact that a world exists outside the school room door. Children need physical

FIGURE 26. COMPARISON OF TEST SCORE PROGRESS OF NON-ABC STUDENTS AT A HIGHLY STRUCTURED AND A LESS STRUCTURED INDEPENDENT SCHOOL

HIGHLY STRUCTURED

	SAT-VERBAL	SAT-MATH
Achieved	604	633
Predicted	603	631
Achieved Minus Predicted	+1	+2
Significance	N.S.	N.S.
	N=97	N=97

LESS STRUCTURED

	SAT-VERBAL	SAT-MATH
Achieved	592	579
Predicted	591	601
Achieved Minus Predicted	+1	-22
Significance	N.S.	P<.001
	N=84	N=84

> exercise, social interaction with others their own age, and opportunities for free play. But, if children get ample amounts of these outside of school, it is quite possible that the educational program that contributed most to rounding out the child's total development would be one that included none of these.[28]

Thus, they ran a highly structured program which concentrated exclusively on the development of basic educational skills. The test scores of the participants in that Headstart were increased significantly, but many educators felt that the educational methods employed were not sufficiently humane and that they seemed to turn the children into machine-like participants in the process.

In 1966, while it was recognized that students from poor families were, on the average, not achieving well in school, it was felt that a variety of ways would be discovered to help them bridge the gap so that they would become as strong academically as more affluent students. Since that time, there have been few successes and it may be that a highly structured environment which can show positive results would be more readily accepted at this point.

ABC students were asked to fill out a questionnaire (the attitudes found will be discussed in later sections) and their responses were correlated with test score progress. The results are consistent with Bereiter's beliefs. Students who reported their schools were "too strict" in a number of areas were likely to make greater test score progress. Those who

described as "too strict" the rules regarding cheating ($.025 < P < .05$), tardiness ($.01 < P < .025$), athletic attendance ($.025 < P < .05$) and smoking ($.025 < P < .05$) all made greater test score progress than students describing these rules as "about right" or "not strict enough".

Where non-academic activities were emphasized less, test score progress was made. Students who felt less socially popular made greater progress.($.025 < P < .05$) And those who felt that their schools did not help them make moral decisions made greater progress than students who reported that schools helped make moral decisions. ($.01 < P < .025$) Bereiter and Engelmann worked with pre-school students, but the test score results of ABC's high school students indicate that some of the same principles may apply.

While most ABC students have mastered basic verbal and mathematical skills, schools working with more truly disadvantaged students will be forced to choose between developing academic skills and developing other social values.

The Educational Testing Service describes both the SSAT and the SAT as "aptitude tests". One might feel that a study of achievement tests would show a greater degree of impact of the ABC Program on the students enrolled. An effort was made to assess the progress ABC students made on achievement tests by examining their scores on the English Composition section of the CEEB. Angoff [29] indicated that, among students who took both

the Verbal SAT and the English Composition Test, the average SAT was equal to the average English Composition score. An examination of the scores of black public school applicants to a competitive college produced the same finding. On the average, their scores on the two tests were not significantly different. However, it is noteworthy that ABC students' English Composition scores were modestly but statistically significantly higher than their average SAT Verbal score. (See Figure 27)

FIGURE 27. COMPARISON OF TWELFTH GRADE SAT-VERBAL SCORES AND TWELFTH GRADE CEEB-ENGLISH COMPOSITION SCORES OF ABC STUDENTS AND OTHER GROUPS OF STUDENTS WHO TOOK BOTH TESTS

	CEEB-ENGLISH COMPOSITION	SAT-VERBAL	CEEB MINUS SAT	SIGNIFICANCE
NATIONAL AVERAGE	514	514	0	N.S.
BLACK APPLICANTS TO A SELECTIVE COLLEGE (N=199)	512	513	-1	N.S.
ABC STUDENTS (N=847)	505	491	+14	$P < .001$

SECTION IIID

COLLEGE ASPIRATIONS AND ENTRANCE

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

COLLEGE ASPIRATIONS AND ENTRANCE

The academic progress ABC students made while they were enrolled in member schools has been considered in the preceding sections. However, ABC was founded as an organization which had the longer term goals of channeling students into competitive colleges, graduate schools, and positions of leadership. Attendance at member schools was not seen as an end in itself, but the *beginning* of a process of developing the potential of students enrolled. The education and preparation for leadership positions were presumed to take as long as ten years in "better" institutions of learning.

Much of the recent literature evaluating integrated education indicates that one of the effects on the black students who transfer from predominantly black to predominantly white schoools is a *lowering* of their educational and occupational aspirations.[30] However, Katz and others do *not* consider this finding to represent a failure of integrated education:

> High aspiration of low-status Negro children in overwhelming Negro schools tend to be rigid and unrealistic...such high aspirations can doom their victims to serious learning difficulties and ultimate failure...integration benefits learning among Negro children by lowering their aspirations to more effective and realistic levels.[31]

Armor's findings in his study of METCO are consistent with earlier studies of integration programs which reported a decline in aspirations. In the METCO study the percentage of students wanting a Bachelor's degree declined from 74% in 1968 to 60% in 1970 (compared with an increase from 65% to 73%

for the control group not in METCO).[32] These findings seem to conflict with Coleman's statement that "In the same way that aspirations can be dulled by association with those who will drop out of school, aspirations can be raised by association with those who will go to college."[33]

The ABC results were different from those of other educational programs and consistent with Coleman's statement. ABC independent schools are all college preparatory. Nearly all the graduates of these schools attend college, so they represent an appropriate channel for ABC students to do the same. While ABC students entered independent schools with extremely high aspirations, they were not scaled down. On the contrary, they appeared to rise.*

Seventy-nine percent of the entering ABC tenth graders were "definitely" planning to attend college, as compared with 95% of the seniors, so one might conclude that attending ABC schools raised aspirations. However, among the control group of black students who attended public schools at home, seniors also had higher aspirations than sophomores. Fifty-two per cent of the tenth graders and 78% of the twelfth graders reported that they "definitely" planned to attend

---

*Rather than comparing the same students at two points in time, this preliminary finding is based on a comparison of two groups of students: those who entered the program in September, 1971 and those who graduated in June, 1971. In the spring of 1974 it will be possible to retest the entering group. Since the senior group experienced some attrition, the remaining students could have been the ones with higher aspirations. However, interviews with students who dropped out of the program indicated that they usually retained their aspirations to attend college even after leaving the program.

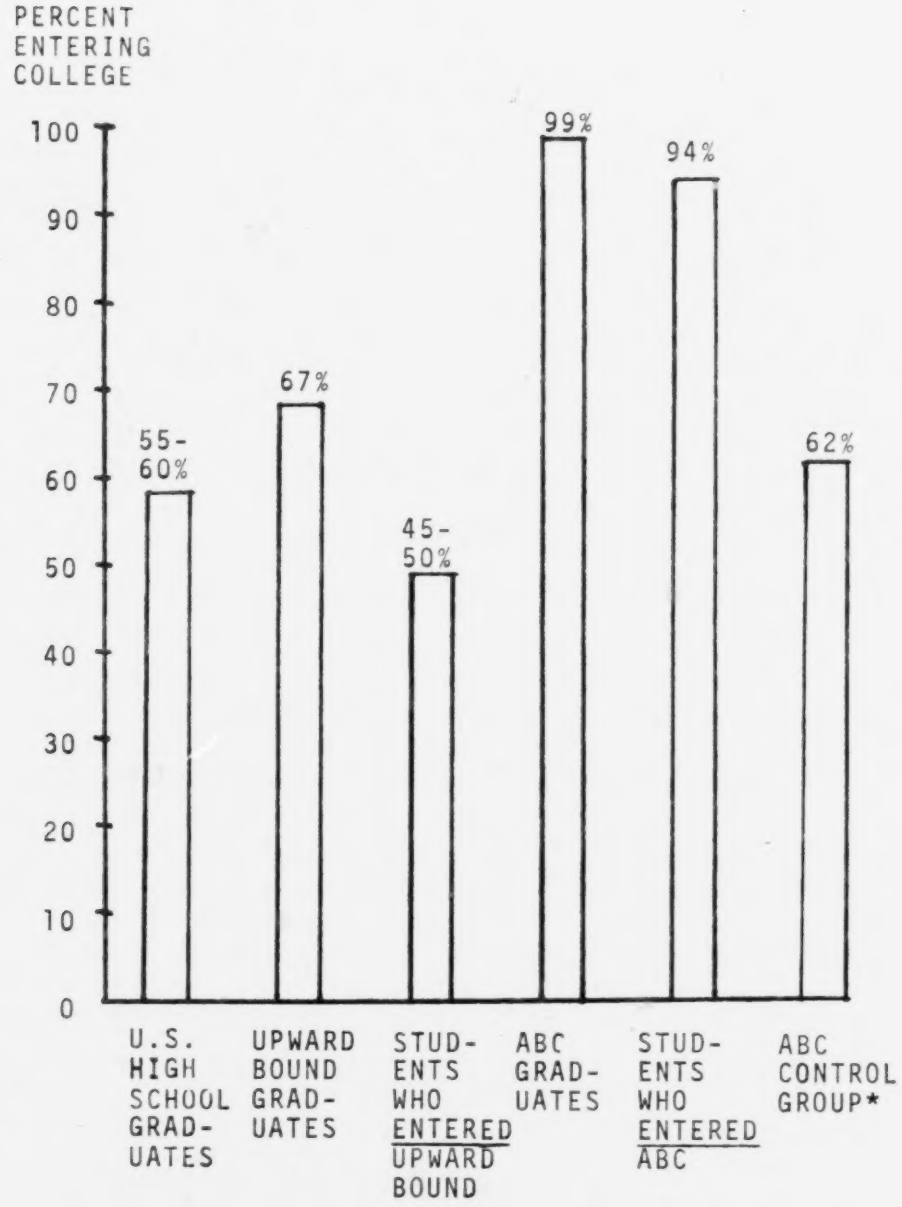
college. Therefore, the aspirations for college of very talented black high school students may increase whether or not a student participates in a program such as ABC.

In any event, ABC students did enter the program with extremely high aspirations which were not scaled downward. Since ABC placed students who had considerable academic ability, the goal of college attendance was not unrealistic. Thus, ABC did not need to be as concerned about lifting the aspirations of its students as about seeing that their *behavior* was consistent with their high aspirations.

The academic environment of independent schools, described in an earlier section, helped to insure that ABC students would be in a position to enter college. Since most ABC students were successful in college preparatory schools, they may have felt more comfortable with the idea of attending college than other students. According to Martyn, a student is more likely to enter college if he has a "belief in the adequacy of his past academic training."[34] Martyn pointed out that "The nature of a hindrance to college attendance depends more on the potential student's perception of the difficulty, in many respects, than it does on the true character of the problem."[35]

What percentage of ABC students actually did enter college? By June of 1971, 1,011 ABC students had graduated from independent schools, and an extraordinarily high proportion,

FIGURE 28. COLLEGE ATTENDANCE RATES OF ABC STUDENTS AND OTHER GROUPS



*47 STUDENTS WHO APPLIED UNSUCCESSFULLY FOR ABC SCHOLARSHIPS IN 1967 AND ATTENDED HIGH SCHOOL AT HOME.

99%, of them entered college. The proportion of all students who *entered* ABC -- some of whom dropped out of the program -- who attended college was 94%. These figures compare favorably with college-going rates of other groups of students. Forty-two per cent of the students in the Project Talent Study who graduated from high school in 1960 entered college within a year, and approximately 60% enrolled eventually.[36] The latest figures from the U.S. Office of Education indicate that approximately 55% to 60% of all high school graduates enter college.[37]

Better comparisons can be made by using groups of students who resembled ABC students. Among students whose standardized test scores and socioeconomic status were similar to ABC students', approximately 50% entered college within five years of high school.* The Upward Bound Program, which enrolled a population somewhat similar to ABC students (similar socioeconomic status but not as strong academically), reported that 67% of the seniors in their bridge program entered college. Slightly less than half the students who ever enrolled in Upward Bound attended college.[38]

Perhaps the best comparison can be made with a group of students who applied for admission to the ABC Program in

---

*(These figures referred to Project Talent students who were in the high school class of 1960, and they included primarily white students. At that time the college entrance rate for minority students was considerably lower than that of white students. However, there has been an overall increase in college attendance among all groups during the last decade.)

1967 but who could not be placed due to a cutback in Federal funding. It was possible to match closely 50 of these students with 50 ABC students on the basis of academic ability and family background. Forty-seven of the control group students were located and 29 of them or 62% entered college. Among the 47 matched ABC students, 8 dropped out of the program and returned to their high schools; and 5 of these 8 entered college. All 39 who graduated from ABC schools entered college, so a total of 44 of the 47 ABC students (94%) enrolled in college.

The differential of 32% between the college entry rate of ABC students and the control group is highly statistically significant ($P < .001$) and represents an impact of the ABC Program. The founders of ABC would probably have predicted a much greater differential. If the practices of college admissions officers had not changed dramatically, this probably would have been the case.

In 1963, very little effort was made to seek out talented disadvantaged students attending public schools. However, at that time, independent school students (who were mostly from affluent backgrounds) were actively recruited by most of the leading colleges. Other studies have found that recently, strong black students have had little difficulty gaining admission to college. According to the Office of Education study of 1969: "The test-bright achiever of black or nonblack race is almost certain to enter college regardless

of characteristics such as sex or parental earnings."[39] And Watley indicates that "At this time, very few test-bright students with high school grades in the C+ to B range don't go to college."[40] This statement seems to be substantiated by the performance of students in the control group who did not enter college. While they did have considerable ability, most of them suffered a deterioration in their school performance between ninth and twelfth grade. Thus, it can be said that many of the students who enrolled in the ABC Program would have been less successful in terms of entering college if they had remained at home.

The control group was so small that it was difficult to make a definitive analysis of the factors which were correlated with success. An effort was made to compare the group of the twenty-nine students who entered college with the eighteen who did not. There was no significant difference in SSAT scores or in parents' education or marital status.*

There was a significant difference between the college entrance rates of students whose rank in class differed at the time they applied for admission to the ABC Program. Those whose rank was higher were more likely to enter college

---

*Several other studies have indicated that family structure does not seem to be as much of a factor in academic achievement as it had been considered to be. In Armor's analysis of the Coleman data, he stated that "Family structure does not seem like an important variable for achievement."[41] Wasserman, who studied 117 families in low-income housing with sons between the ages of ten and sixteen wrote: "The presence or absence of fathers fails to discriminate between boys who do better or worse *at school*.[42]

three or four years later ($.005 < P < .01$). This implies that ABC would have had a greater impact on its students, in terms of the college entrance, if it had enrolled a greater proportion from the second, rather than the top tenth of their classes.

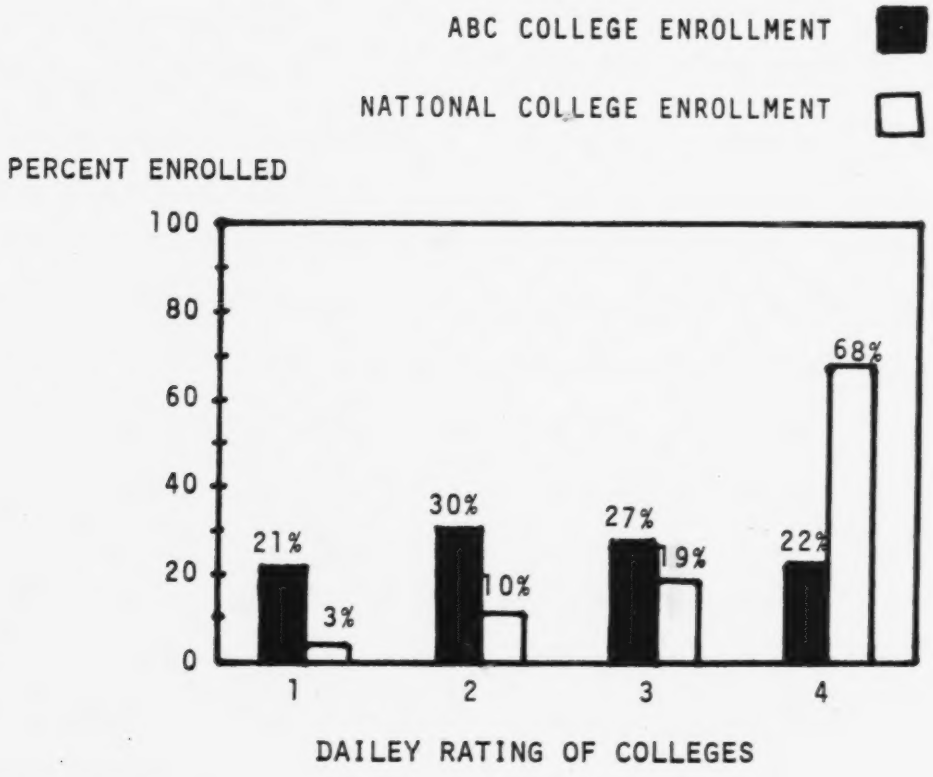
Several indices exist which rate universities according to their level of selectivity or prestige. One of these, Dailey's Taxonomy, was used to evaluate the type of colleges ABC students attended.[43] Dailey established a scale by considering the endowment and number of Merit Scholars enrolled. He rated approximately 1,000 colleges attended by four and one-half million students.

Figure 29 shows that ABC students attended colleges rated much more selective than the average of those attended by all students in the United States. Category One is comprised of thirty prestigious colleges, such as Harvard, MIT, and Northwestern.* Twenty-one per cent of the ABC students enrolled in colleges in this category, as compared to three per cent of all students in the country. Category Four is made up of 710 institutions, mostly less selective state colleges. Twenty-two per cent of the ABC students attended these colleges, as

---

*Dailey's Taxonomy had five, not four categories. His category "two" was comprised of nine selective women's and eight selective technological colleges. For the purposes of this study, these were combined with his category "one". Therefore, Dailey's category "three" became ABC category "two", etc.

FIGURE 29. SELECTIVITY OF COLLEGES ATTENDED BY ABC STUDENTS, AND ALL AMERICAN STUDENTS*



*LOWER RATING INDICATES GREATER SELECTIVITY

compared to 68% of all American students. The mean rating for ABC students was significantly lower (more selective). 2.5 as compared to the national average of 3.5 ($p < .001$).

How did the selectivity of ABC students' colleges compare with that of similar students who did not enroll in the ABC program? The mean Dailey rating for the colleges of ABC students (2.5) indicated significantly greater selectivity than the rating for the controls (3.4), ($.001 < p < .005$). Of the forty-seven matched pairs, in twenty-six cases both ABC students and controls entered college. According to Dailey's taxonomy, in sixteen cases (62%) ABC students attended more selective colleges and in four cases (15%) the controls' colleges were more selective. The other six pairs of students attended equal status colleges. (See Figure 30)

What factors in the backgrounds of ABC students were related to the selectivity of the colleges they entered? Black and Indian students attended more selective colleges than whites and Puerto Ricans ($.025 < p < .05$) and Southern students entered more selective colleges than ABC students from other parts of the country ($p < .001$). However, most of the socio-economic variables were not related, including parents' education, marital status, income, and family size. In addition, the number of years enrolled in independent school was not a factor, and students graduating in recent years, on the average, attended colleges of the same level of selectivity as those ABC students

FIGURE 30. POST-HIGH SCHOOL ACTIVITIES OF ABC STUDENTS AND MATCHED CONTROLS

I. PAIRS OF STUDENTS BOTH OF WHOM ENTERED COLLEGE:

ABC STUDENT	CONTROL STUDENT
Brown	U of Tennessee
Bucknell	Case Western Reserve
Carleton	Allegheny
Clark	Franklin and Marshall
U of Connecticut*	U of Minnesota
Dartmouth	Ohio State
Fordham*	Medgar Evers CUNY
Harvard	Cornell
Harvard	Detroit Inst. of Technology
Harvard	U of Michigan
Harvard	Vanderbilt
Lincoln*	Bloomsburg State
Middlebury	Eastern Michigan
U of North Carolina	U of Tennessee
Northwestern	Xavier (New Orleans)
Oberlin	Los Angeles City
St. Olaf's	Malcolm X JC
Toledo	Michigan State
Tufts	Miami Dade JC
Tufts	U of Michigan (Flint)
Tufts	Morgan State
Wagner	City College of CUNY
Wagner	Drexel
Wayne State	Bradley
Wesleyan	Syracuse
Yale	Kent State

II. PAIRS OF STUDENTS - CONTROL DID NOT ENTER COLLEGE:

ABC STUDENT	CONTROL STUDENT
Arizona State*	Technical School
Columbia	Armed Forces
Dickinson	Musician
Harvard	Deceased
U of Illinois (Chicago)	Trade School
Lafayette	Dry Cleaners Employee
Lincoln	Armed Forces**
Malcolm X JC*	Printing Co. Employee**
U of Massachusetts	Technical School
Massachusetts College of Art	Unemployed
Northeastern	Trade School**
U of Pacific	Armed Forces
U of Pennsylvania	Technical School
Syracuse	Armed Forces
Texas Southern	Shoe Salesman**
Tulane	Armed Forces
Virginia Union	Technical School
Wesleyan	Working

III. PAIRS OF STUDENTS - ABC STUDENT DID NOT ENTER COLLEGE:

ABC STUDENT	CONTROL STUDENT
Printing Co. Employee*	Purdue
Unemployed*	Cuyahoga Community
Park Dept. Employee**	Kansas Wesleyan

*Students who left ABC schools and returned to high school at home
**Students who did not complete high school.

who graduated from college in the 1960's. Also, selectivity was similar for males and females.

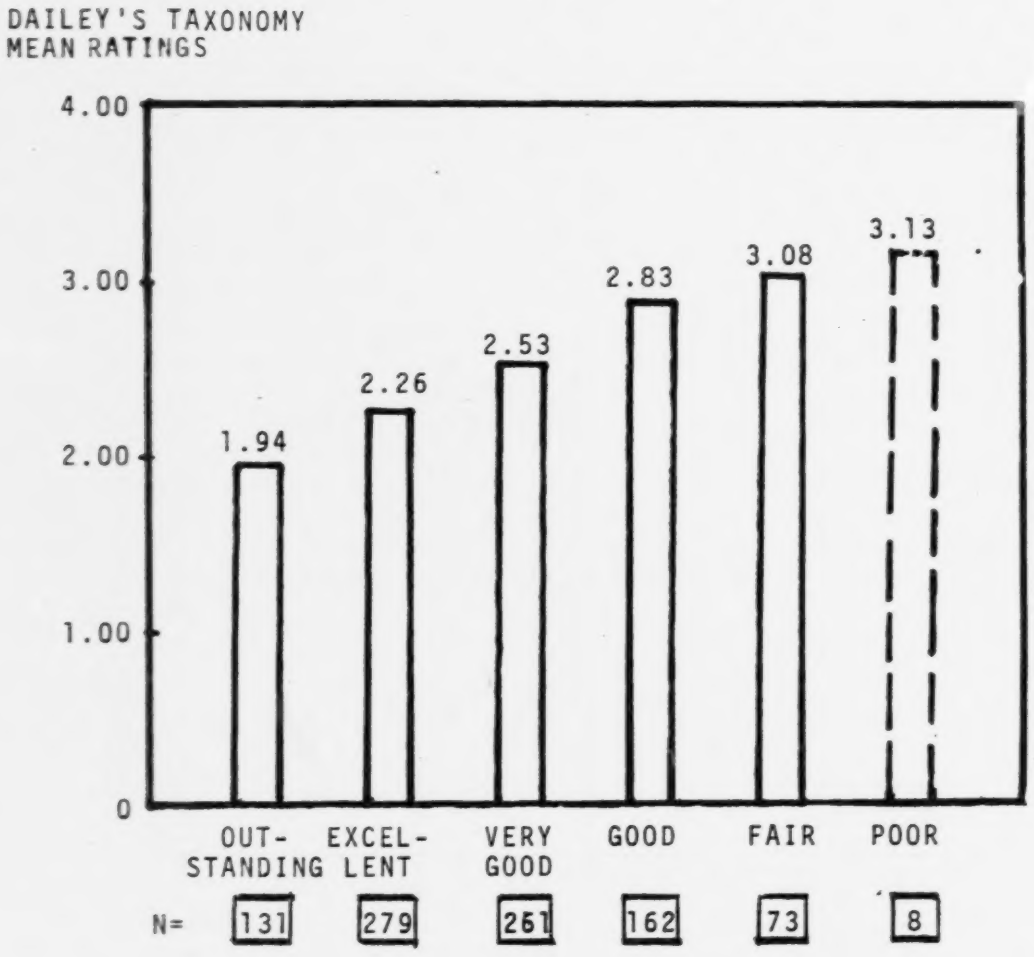
The type of ABC school seemed to be a factor in the level of selectivity of the colleges of their graduates, but this was largely explained by the academic strength of these students *before* they entered the program.

Students' rank in class ($r=.10$, $.005<p<.01$), public school rating "as a student" ($r=.18$, $p<.001$) and SSAT scores ($r=.27$, $p<.001$) before enrolling in ABC schools were all correlated with the selectivity of the colleges they entered several years later.

Their academic strength at the time they graduated from ABC schools was more highly correlated. Twelfth grade rank in class ($r=.29$, $p<.001$), "academic adjustment", as rated by the independent schools ($r=.32$, $p<.001$) and SAT scores ($r=.33$ - Verbal and $.35$ - Math, $p<.001$) all seemed to be important determinants of the kind of college they attended. ABC students'"social adjustment" ($r=.14$, $.005<p<.01$) was also related.

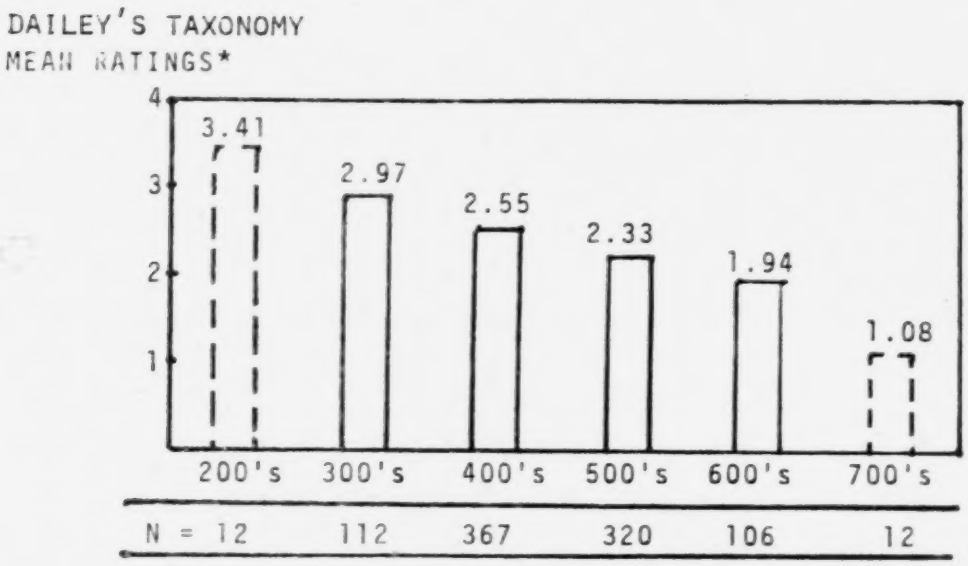
In summary, the college aspirations of ABC students increased, in contrast to the results of other integration programs. However, the college aspirations of the control group also rose, so the strength of these students may be the cause, rather than participation in ABC. One of the major

FIGURE 31. SELECTIVITY OF COLLEGES ATTENDED BY ABC STUDENTS AS RELATED TO TWELFTH GRADE "ACADEMIC ADJUSTMENT" EVALUATION BY THEIR SCHOOLS*

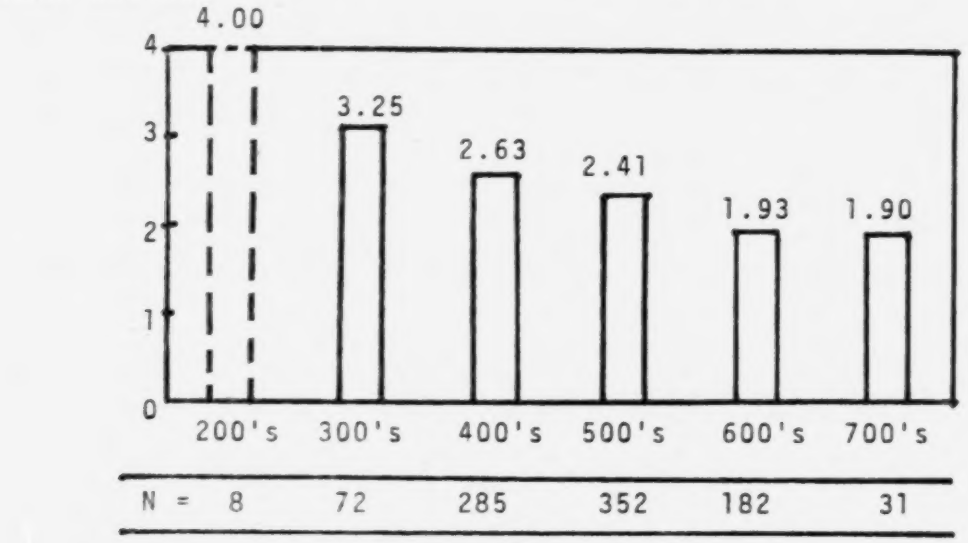


*1=HIGHEST RATING; 4=LOWEST

FIGURE 32. SELECTIVITY OF COLLEGES ATTENDED BY ABC STUDENTS AS RELATED TO THEIR TWELFTH GRADE SAT SCORES



SAT - VERBAL
TWELFTH GRADE ABC STUDENTS (P<.001)



SAT - QUANTITATIVE
TWELFTH GRADE ABC STUDENTS (P<.001)

*1=HIGHEST RATING; 4=LOWEST RATING

goals of the program has been the college entrance of its enrollees. This goal was largely realized in that virtually all ABC students who graduated from independent school (99%) attended college. Ninety-four per cent of all ABC students who entered the program enrolled in college, a proportion thirty-two per cent higher than that which would have occurred if these students had remained at home. Thus, of the 1,640 ABC students who entered independent school and were scheduled to graduate by June 1972, the ABC Program was responsible for *increasing* the number who entered college by more than 500 students. This increase might have been greater had it not been for the fact that colleges began to recruit talented minority group students much more actively shortly after ABC was founded.

The suprisingly high proportion of sixty-two per cent of the control group entered college, but on the average, attended colleges less selective than did ABC students. Independent schools proved to be the kind of channel to prestigious colleges for ABC students as they had been for generations for more affluent students.

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

SECTION IV

COLLEGE PERFORMANCE AND POST COLLEGE ACTIVITIES

COLLEGE PERFORMANCE AND POST COLLEGE ACTIVITIES

The previous section pointed out that virtually all of the ABC students who graduated from independent school entered college (with requisite financial aid). They attended colleges which are considered more prestigious than the ones they would have entered had they remained at home. In this section, their college grades and retention rate will be compared with those of other groups of students. Their post-college activities will also be described.

COLLEGE GRADES

Most ABC students felt that they benefited academically by attending independent school. Ninety per cent of the tenth graders and 85% of the seniors agreed with the statement, "I think I'm getting a better preparation for college than I would have if I had stayed in public school." One senior said:

> I get better preparation here for college simply because the work is more intense here; whereas at my old school I could have danced through it and I wouldn't have really gotten that much out of it.

Other ABC students already in college made the following statements:

> If I had attended public school I know I would have had a lot less confidence when I entered college.

> Coming from a prep school you know what to expect and in that sense I think you're a jump ahead.

The National Merit Scholarship Corporation reported that the average grade of black freshmen is 2.3 on a scale of 4.0 [44]. This is precisely the same average as that of the

289 ABC students whose colleges provided grades in November, 1971. It is possible that ABC students were achieving at a higher level in college than they would have if they had not attended independent school. Their parents had less education than the average black college student's parents. (Comparative figures were not available for students whose parents had a level of education equivalent to those of ABC students.) Moreover, on the average, ABC students were achieving their grades at more competitive colleges.

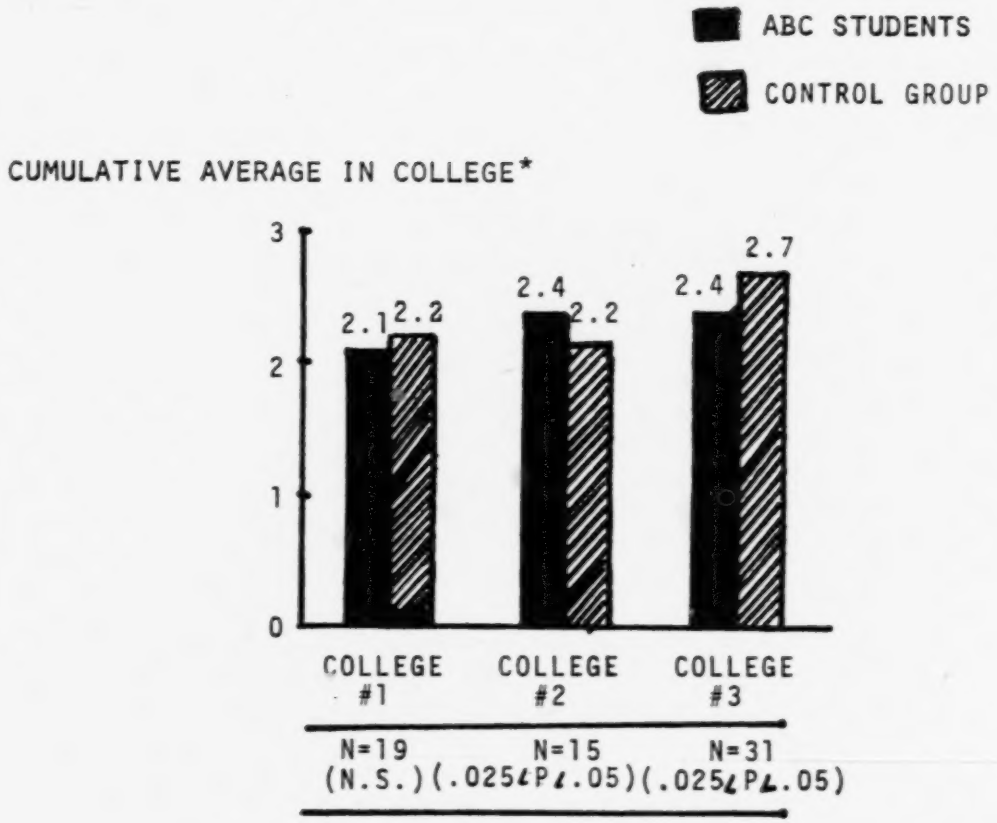
At three colleges which enrolled substantial numbers of ABC students, matched pair control group studies were performed.* Students were matched on the basis of high school grades, SAT scores and family background, and a total of 64 students were included in these studies. Figure 33 indicates that overall there was no clear difference between the performance of the ABC students and their matched controls. At one college ABC students' grade point average was significantly higher, at one it was significantly lower, and at the third there was no significant difference.

Several explanations of why ABC students did not outperform their public school controls were offered by those who carried out the study. One was that these three colleges were highly selective institutions. Students who remained at

---

*When these studies were undertaken, ABC agreed that it would not identify the colleges in the research report.

FIGURE 33. COLLEGE GRADES AT THREE SELECTIVE COLLEGES RECEIVED BY ABC STUDENTS AND SIMILAR STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS



*All grades were converted to a four point scale:
A=4, B=3, C=2, D=1, E=0.

home in public school and were able to succeed academically in environments which were less conducive to study than ABC schools, were very highly motivated. Thus, it is not surprising that they were successful at college. A second explanation is that there were actual differences between the two groups of students, the ABC students entering college with better study habits and greater self-confidence. As a result they achieved the same results with somewhat less effort and with less feeling of stress than their public school counterparts. This explanation is supported by the statements of several ABC college seniors:

> [Boarding school] was an advantage in that I felt I could easily handle every academic assignment that came my way, many of which I had mastered at _____ School. It was a disadvantage in that I thought I could easily handle every academic assignment that came my way, some of which I had not heard of at _____ School.

> My boarding school experience was an advantage because I learned excellent study habits. I learned to do a maximum amount of work in a minimum of time. I also acquired a deep respect for quality in my work. My study habits were just that - habitual. Consequently, I did all my work during the first couple of weeks of school and I did it with time to spare. The disadvantage was that I did not study as long as many of my classmates. I watched TV, etc. After awhile I got very bored because I was not enthusiastic enough to go beyond what I had to do, except in my writing course.

At a fourth college with a substantial ABC enrollment, it was impossible to carry out this matched pair study. This was due to the fact that virtually all the non-ABC minority group students on this campus had come from middle class

backgrounds and generally had parents who were professionals. The independent schools provided a channel for ABC students to this college because it traditionally enrolled a high percentage of independent school graduates. At two of the other three colleges ABC students comprised a substantial minority of the undergraduates from poverty families. Many of the other scholarship students came from families which were not affluent but were highly educated.

The study of the performance of ABC students in independent school was based on the records of more than 1,000 students. Since information on the grades of ABC students in college was available for only 289 students, an analysis of background factors correlating with their success was less conclusive. None of the socioeconomic factors were correlated with significant differences in the college grades of ABC students. Academic strength before entering ABC was related to college performance. Students with higher rank in class in junior high school ($.025 < p < .05$) and higher counselors' ratings "as a person" ($.01 < p < .025$) had significantly better college grades.

The characteristics of the independent school attended did not seem to produce differential levels of performance in college. Students who had attended schools with varying levels of structure, supportiveness, and ABC enrollment, and those who had attended coed as well as non-coed

schools did not have significantly different grade-point averages. Graduates of more competitive schools performed better in college, but this was largely a function of the fact that those students were stronger to begin with.

Which of the aspects of twelfth grade performance were related to success in college? Figure 34 indicates that rank in class ($.001 < p < .005$) and the schools' evaluation of ABC students' academic adjustment ($p < .001$) were predictors of success in college. The schools' evaluation of ABC students' social adjustment and SAT scores were not.*

In summary, ABC students were enrolled in colleges which were more selective than those they would have attended had they not participated in the ABC Program. However, it cannot be claimed on the basis of this study that ABC students' grade point average in college was increased as a result of having attended independent school.

COLLEGE RETENTION RATE

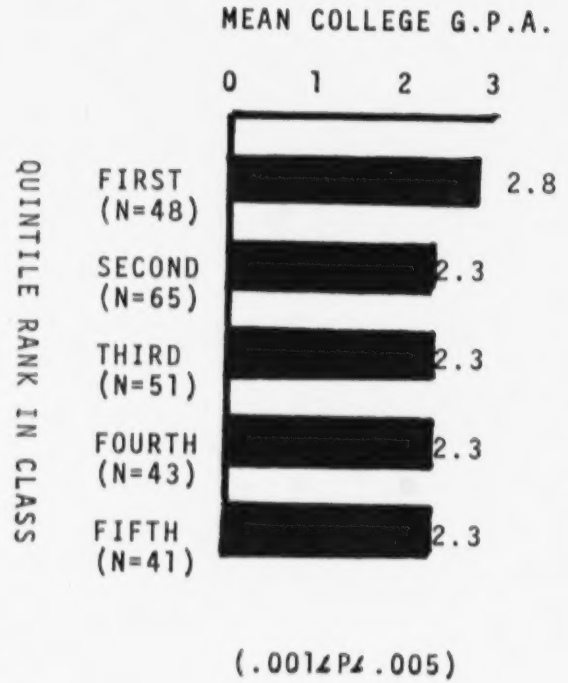
The retention rate of ABC students was not much different from the average American college students. The Project Talent Study of students who graduate from high school in 1960 reported that of those who entered college, approximately 40% graduated from college within five years. [45] Clark studied black students who were recipients of assistance from NSSFNS (National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students) who

---

*Since students with higher College Board scores attended colleges which were on the average more selective, one cannot necessarily conclude that SAT scores were not good predictors of academic performance.

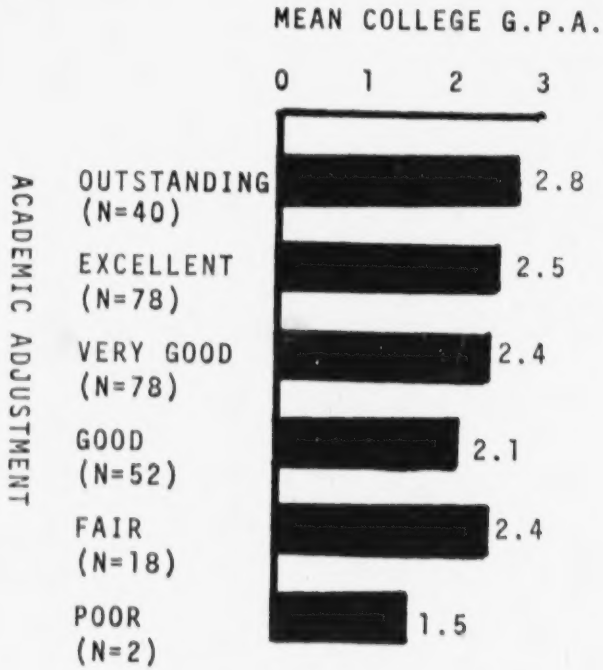
FIGURE 34.

COLLEGE GRADES OF ABC STUDENTS
RELATED TO TWELFTH GRADE RANK IN CLASS



(.001<P<.005)

COLLEGE GRADES OF ABC STUDENTS
RELATED TO TWELFTH GRADE "ACADEMIC ADJUSTMENT"



(P<.001)

attended predominantly white colleges in the 1950's. He indicated that approximately two-thirds graduated.[46] However, on the average, these students were from families which were much better educated than were ABC students. Clark found that among black NSSFNS students, "if neither parent attended college, there is a much greater likelihood that the child will not complete college successfully."[47] The proportion of ABC students whose parents attended college was much lower than the national average for black students. Comparative figures were not available for minority group students whose parents had limited educational training.

In a more recent study, among non-ABC students whose high school grades and test scores were approximately at the level of ABC students, about 45% graduated from college. This report was done by Astin and released by the American Council on Education in February, 1972.[48] Earlier it was shown that ABC students had very high aspirations, and Astin writes that:

> Unfulfilled expectations are the rule rather than the exception among 2-year college students. The same is true, of course, (though to a lesser extent), of students at 4-year colleges and universities. Although nearly 95% aspired to at least the baccalaureate when they first entered in 1966, more than 40% had left their first institution without the degree four years later.[49]

Nationally, 47% of all white students and 42% of black students graduated from college within four years, according to Astin's study.

The record of ABC students was almost precisely the same. One hundred thirty ABC students graduated from independent schools in 1968, and 42% graduated from college in June, 1972. Several others were proceeding on schedule but were enrolled in programs which required five years of study. Approximately an additional 25% were still enrolled in college and the other third had dropped out. It is still too early to tell what percentage will eventually graduate from college but a large percentage of those who were not enrolled stated that they intended to return.

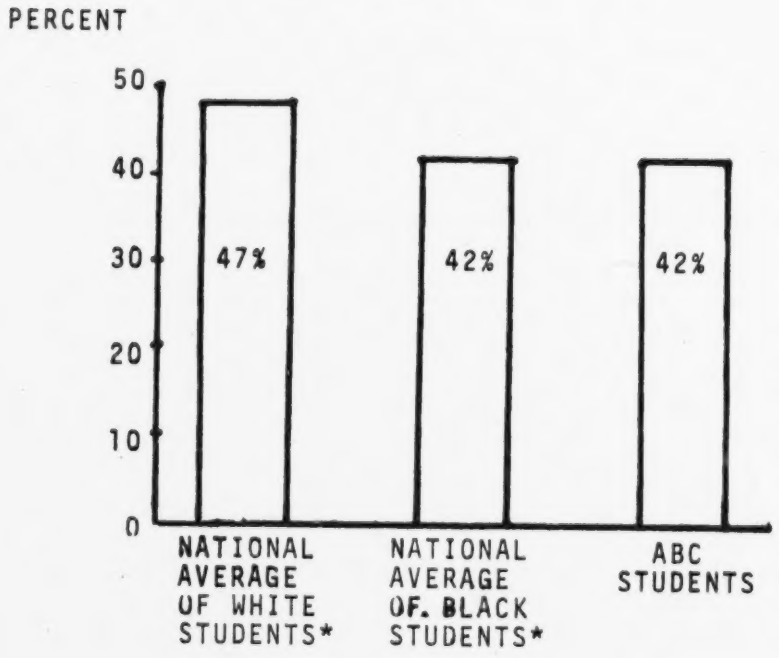
ABC students did not appear to have higher grades in college as a result of attending independent schools; moreover, the proportion of ABC students who graduated from college in four years was not higher than the national average for black or for white students. However, the program is likely to affect the eventual college completion rate of ABC students. They attended colleges which are more likely to allow students who dropped out to return. Therefore, in the long run a much higher proportion will graduate from college than would have been the case if these students had not enrolled in independent schools.

In the control group of 47 students who applied for admission to ABC in 1967, 29, or 62%, entered college. They enrolled in colleges from which approximately half the students graduate. Among the matched ABC students, 44, or 94%, entered college and they went to schools from which

approximately 75% graduate. (In recent years there has been a tendency for a sizable minority of students who received a degree from these colleges to take some time off during their academic career.) If these ABC and control group students have retention rates which are similar to those of the overall student body at their colleges, approximately two-thirds of the ABC students and one-third of the control group students will graduate. Forty-two per cent of the ABC students who graduated from independent school in 1968 completed college within four years. Another 10% to 15% will probably graduate in one additional year. A prediction of an eventual college completion proportion of two-thirds would not be unreasonable.

Which variables were related to college attrition among ABC students? The only background factor with a significant difference was the family income ($.025 < p < .05$). Although none of the ABC students were from affluent families, those who were less impoverished were more likely to stay in school. This is reasonable since there may have been less of a need for them to drop out, at least temporarily, to help with family finances. Clark also found that, "When we analyze the reasons for dropout...it is found that financial reasons are most frequently offered."[50] None of the indicators of academic strength previous to entering independent school were predictors of college attrition, but twelfth grade rank

FIGURE 35. PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS GRADUATING FROM COLLEGE WITHIN FOUR YEARS AFTER ENTERING



*From: Astin, Alexander, College Dropouts: A National Profile, 1972.

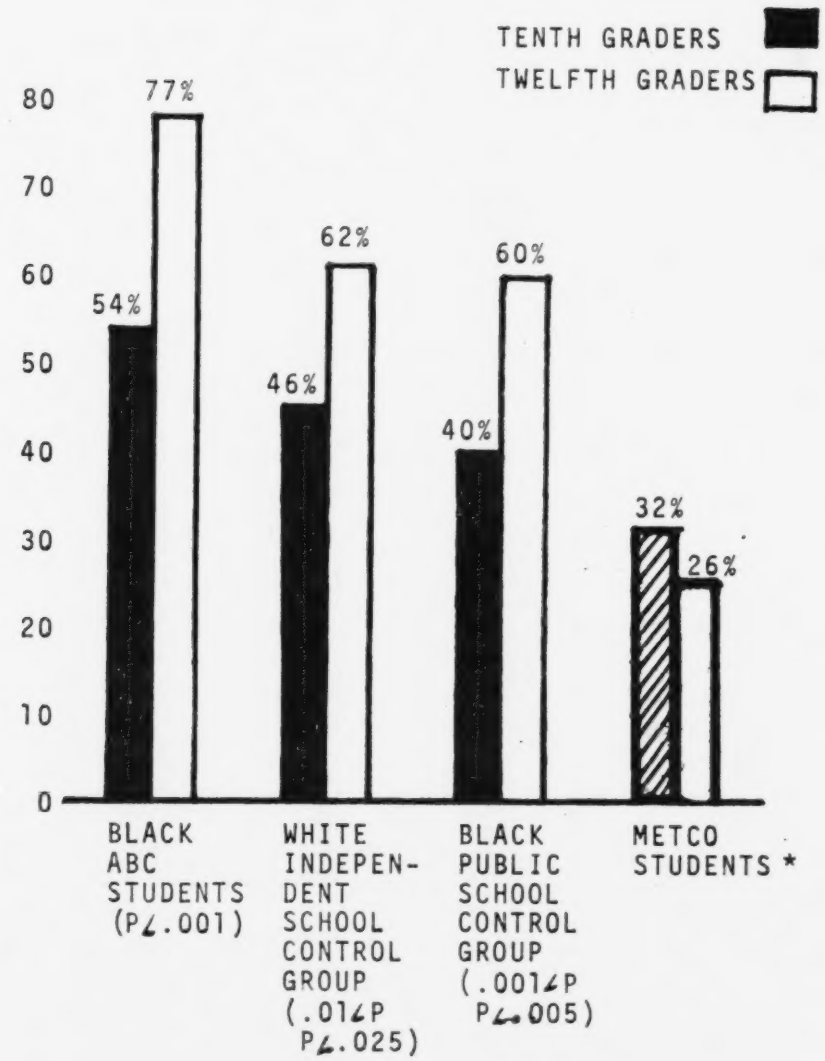
in class did predict college attrition ($.025 < p < .05$). It is interesting also that the type of ABC school attended did not seem to have a significant effect on college retention. However, students who had attended highly structured schools had showed greater progress on their test scores than those in less structured schools, and had a lower college attrition rate, although the difference was not statistically significant.

AFTER COLLEGE

According to Coleman, "Although only 13% of the work force is in professional occupations...27% of the Negroes reported that they expected to have a professional career."[51] Armor reported that among METCO students there was a decline from 32% to 26% who said they wanted to go to graduate school. There was also a slight but non-significant drop in the percentage of METCO students expecting professional or technical careers from 64% to 61%.[52] ABC students were also asked, "How far do you want to go in school?" and the responses revealed increasingly high aspirations. Fifty-four per cent of the sophomores and 77% of the seniors wanted to attend graduate school. The proportion who expected to have professional or managerial jobs was 77% of the sophomores and 85% of the seniors. (See Figures 36 and 37.)

What percentage of ABC students did go on to graduate school and/or begin professional careers? It is still too

FIGURE 36. PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS PLANNING TO ATTEND GRADUATE SCHOOL



*Most of these METCO students were not tenth and twelfth graders. The results are based on responses of METCO students at various grade levels who filled out the METCO questionnaire in 1968 ▨ and 1970 □.

FIGURE 37 PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS WHO WERE EXPECTING TO HAVE "PROFESSIONAL" OR "MANAGERIAL" JOBS AFTER FINISHING THEIR EDUCATION

early to answer conclusively since most ABC students who graduated from independent school are too young to have finished college. However, among the first college graduates, approximately 40% entered graduate school immediately and at least half of the others expressed the intention of doing so. Figure 38 summarizes the graduate school enrollment of the ABC college graduates of 1970-1972. It is apparent that they were continuing in the elite channel which began with their enrollment in independent school nearly ten years ago.

ABC students who were scheduled to graduate from independent school by June, 1968 who attended graduate school were compared with those who did not attend graduate school. There was no significant difference between the groups in any measures of family background or academic strength before independent school. However, those who eventually entered graduate school had ranked higher in their twelfth grade classes in independent school ($.025 < p < .05$) and had been rated higher by their ABC schools in "academic adjustment" ($.001 < p < .005$) and "social adjustment" ($.025 < p < .05$).

Most of the students who did not enter graduate school went to work. Many of them took jobs which were not necessarily related to their ultimate occupational plans, but enabled them to take a break between college and graduate school. Figure 39 contains a listing of their occupations. Surprisingly, a number of other ABC students were still

FIGURE 38. GRADUATE PROGRAMS OF ABC COLLEGE GRADUATES OF 1970 TO 1972

ABC SCHOOL	COLLEGE	GRADUATE PROGRAM
Wilbraham-Monson	Tufts	Atlanta U (Math)
Pomfret	Howard	Boston U (Law)
Windsor Mountain	Grinnell	UCLA (Public Administration)
Suffield	Cal Tech	Cal Tech (Ph.D)
Kimball Union	Yale	U of Chicago (Business)
Taft	Columbia	Columbia (Architecture)
Woodstock Country	Oberlin	Columbia (Clinical Psych)
Woodstock Country	Duke	Duke (Masters)
Gunnery	Princeton	Duke (Medicine)
Dana Hall	Juniata	Fordham (Special Education)
Taft	Harvard	Georgetown (Law)
Concord	Radcliffe	Harvard (Law)
Phillips	Harvard	Harvard (Medicine)
Solebury	Hobart	Howard (Dentistry)
Emma Willard	Northwestern	MIT (Urban Affairs)
Northfield	U Massachusetts	U Massachusetts (Human Relations)
Waynflete	Sarah Lawrence	U of Michigan (Journalism)
Solebury	Williams	U of Pennsylvania (Law)
Walnut Hill	Case W Reserve	U of Pittsburgh (Law)
Mt. Hermon	Oberlin	U of Pittsburgh (Medicine)
Cushing	Cornell	RPI (Electric Power Engineering)
Peddie	U of Richmond	U of Richmond (Biology)
Mt. Hermon	Boston College	Rollins (Math)
Governor Dummer	Yale	Rutgers (Philosophy & Literature)
Cushing	Alfred	U of San Diego (Law)
Gunnery	U S California	U of Southern California (Law)
Emma Willard	Swarthmore	U of Tennessee (Economics)
Emma Willard	Radcliffe	Tufts (Medicine)
Cheshire	Dartmouth	Vanderbilt (Law)
Mercersburg	Dartmouth	U of Virginia (English)
Mt. Hermon	Harvard	U of Washington (Physics)
Kimball Union	Michigan State	Wayne State (Law)
Northfield	Clark	U of Wisconsin (Geography)
Cranbrook	Michigan	Yale (Divinity)
Choate	Bucknell	Yale (Divinity)

FIGURE 39.

OCCUPATIONS OF ABC COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO DID NOT ENTER GRADUATE SCHOOL

ABC SCHOOL	COLLEGE	NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT
Kent Girls	Radcliffe	Actress
Solebury	Lake Forest	Community Worker
Taft	Harvard	Computer Programmer
Emma Willard	Mills	Day Care Center Employee
Holderness	Yale	Drug Counselor
Emma Willard	Swarthmore	Economic Researcher
Phillips	Wesleyan	High School Counselor
Groton	Wesleyan	High School Teacher
Commonwealth	U. of Massachusetts	High School Teacher
Putney	U. of Pennsylvania	Hospital Administrator
Verde Valley	Dartmouth	Hospital Employee
Tilton	Georgetown	Insurance Executive
Storm King	Union	Life Insurance Salesman
Miss Halls	Allegheny	Mental Health Worker
Northfield	U. of Massachusetts	Nurse
Phillips	U. of Pennsylvania	Photographer
Westminster	Trinity	Planning Engineer
Cheshire	Cornell	Probations Officer
Abbot	Hollins	Probations Officer
Darrow	American U. of Puerto Rico	Sales Clerk
Phillips	Tufts	Social Worker
Dana Hall	Juniata	Special Education Teacher
Phillips Exeter	Princeton	Voter Registration Worker

seeking employment several months after college graduation.

In summary, ABC is a long term program and it appears that nine years is not an adequate amount of time to reach conclusions regarding the ultimate success of ABC students. Ninety-four per cent of the students who entered the ABC program, compared to 64% of the control group entered college, and ABC students attended more selective colleges. The grades of ABC students in college were not clearly affected by their independent school preparation. Their college completion rate was also not higher than the national average, but those who dropped out could more easily return than students attending less selective institutions. Therefore, while 42% graduated within four years, it appears that approximately two-thirds of the ABC students (compared to one-third of the control group) will eventually graduate from college.

Of the first ABC students who completed college, 40% immediately went on to graduate programs, mostly in selective universities. Many of the others found employment in social service areas and expected to attend graduate school after working for a year.

In that ABC students enrolled in secondary schools, colleges, and graduate schools of widespread reputation, they may be channeled into positions of greater influence than they might have otherwise occupied. It will be important to see

what lies ahead for these students who have attended what are considered to be some of the finest educational institutions in the country, those which the founders of the ABC Program had hoped they would attend.

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

SECTION V

SELF-ESTEEM, RACIAL AWARENESS, AND FATE CONTROL

SELF-ESTEEM, RACIAL AWARENESS, AND FATE CONTROL

Dr. Alvin Poussaint indicated that,

> " stronger self-concept is associated with a greater willingness to risk self-expression, certainly a prerequisite to achievement...since the self-esteem of black youth is generally more negative than that of whites and may motivate them not to perform optimally, the black youth clearly competes at a disadvantage with white youth."[53]

Poussaint also wrote that,

> "...for Negroes who *objectively* are less able to control their environment than are whites, a realistic inability to assert themselves meaningfully is a greater inhibition of ability to achieve than any other variable."[54]

Unlike many other minority group students in their neighborhoods, most ABC students felt intelligent, popular, and had a sense that they were in control of their destiny, even before they entered the ABC Program. They maintained or strengthened these feelings during the time they were enrolled in independent school.

In evaluating the self-esteem of ABC students, it is appropriate to consider their estimation of their own intelligence, popularity, and for minority group students, their racial or ethnic pride.

Few people in the general population are likely to indicate that they are below average in intelligence. It is therefore more valuable to consider the change in an individual's estimation of his own ability than the absolute rating. Armor reported that there was a decline in the METCO students'

likeliness to indicate that they were above average in response to the question, "How bright do you think you are in comparison with all other students in your grade?" 27% indicated that they were above average in 1968 and 21% in 1970.[55]

The ABC experience appears to have been different. By comparing ABC sophomores with seniors, one finds that the seniors were much more likely to rate themselves above average. 28% of the sophomores did so, as compared with 53% of the seniors.* The control group of black students who attended public schools at home followed a trend similar to that of the METCO students, with 52% of the sophomores and 43% of the seniors indicating that they were above average in intelligence. One ABC girl indicated the feelings of some students who entered independent schools:

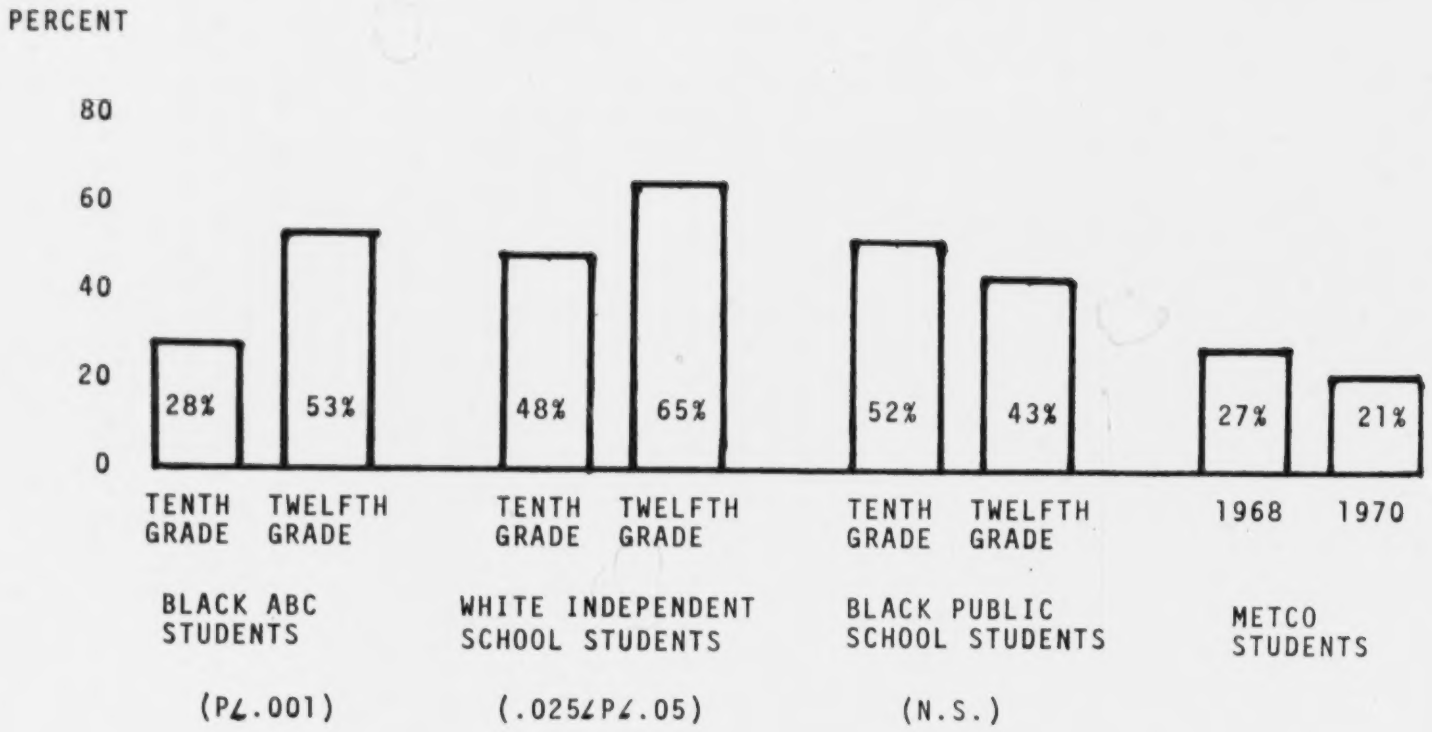
> You come from your high school near the top of your class and when you get to prep school all of a sudden you're way down at the bottom trying to push for the middle. This can be good or it can be bad. It can just get you completely down. No matter how hard you push you never do anything, so you get a defeatist attitude. Then on the other hand, it can make you work harder.

ABC students had experienced success in their public schools, most of which had few whites enrolled. They were also able to compete successfully in their more demanding predominantly white boarding schools. Like other independent school students, their grades tended to improve after an initial period of adjustment.

---

*Because of the attrition of some weak ABC students, the difference between tenth and twelfth grade students was somewhat exaggerated.

FIGURE 40. PERCENTAGE OF ABC AND OTHER STUDENTS WHO FELT "ABOVE AVERAGE" IN INTELLIGENCE



With this improvement came an increase in self-esteem.

Among ABC seniors, more than half reported that they were above average in intelligence, and only 2% indicated that they were below average.

How did they feel about their popularity? In general, they indicated that they were quite popular among their classmates, both black and white. There was no significant difference between the responses of sophomores and seniors. ABC students felt more popular than did their white classmates or the control group of black students attending school at home. Overall, 36% of the ABC students reported that they were among the most popular students among their classmates, and 9% that they were among the least popular. 51% indicated that they were among the most popular with their black classmates and only 4% among the least popular. Thus, by these two measures of self-evaluations of intelligence and popularity it appears that self-esteem of ABC students was quite high and was not reduced by their experience at independent school.

One ABC college senior wrote the following:

> When I am asked today if I am glad I was a part of ABC, my answer is "Yes," and the reason I give is this: I am pleased with what I am today and this strong self-image is a product of my past. ABC was, is, an integral part of that past and the cumulative effects of that experience has been overwhelmingly positive in my growth.

David Riesman has written that

> a minority position can be a blessing as well as a curse, and particularly [that] a minority position --not quite in the minority, not quite outside it-- may be a superior vantage point for understanding your self-development.[56]

The statements of many ABC students seem to indicate that they made important progress in understanding themselves and broadening their perspective. The following are some of these statements:

> Primarily because I was exposed to a...different environment...I was forced to think more independently ...Prep school offered me time to get my mind together. It gave me time. Like to read. Time enough to think about what was going on...like what was going on in my...prep school as opposed to what's going on in Mississippi. Like prep school just gave me more time to think and I used this time to get myself together. When I went to prep school, a totally different environment, a white environment, that's when I began to *think*...to wonder about where I was going in life and how I was going to get there... going away from home, not necessarily going to a prep school, but being exposed to a different environment.

> In the ghetto of D.C., surrounded most of the time by Blacks, I never really thought of my Blackness. Here, I felt a need to defend Blacks, especially three years ago. Then Whites were uptight about the riots and later I wanted to defend the Black cause. In order to talk and to put my own mind in order, I had to read and listen and talk. Pride came in with James Brown and his era, and a necessity for a change came with the murders of Malcolm, King, Kennedy and all other belated beautiful people. I've thought and I feel a need now to put this country straight, based on truths and to see that it exercises those truths. Yes, I've gained Black awareness.

A college senior wrote:

> My values are such that I place importance upon a black person's level of Blackness as a measure of his success. That BLACKNESS involves being free of wanting

> to be something which one is not. This self-identity and personal awareness is not confined to BLACKNESS at all, but *for a black person* self-awareness includes what he is in the context of other blacks. Having been "through the program" I have had an opportunity to look at myself and other blacks go through the changes of being accepted into a white culture and of later drawing themselves into their own black identity. In that *any* (ABC or not) black must go through a personal evolution, the question at issue transforms itself into: "Does ABC etc. better prepare one for change and, if so, does this kind of change initiated by the program metamorphose one into a good end product?"
>
> I like the idea of ABC. The process of stepping into that stage of development was so clearly defined and obvious that later in life a black could easily see what decisions he made...a lot of people walking around today are still quite unconscious of how they made decisions, and of how they left one life for another.
>
> At best BLACKNESS means having one's mind 'together' both intellectually and socially. I think ABC may have speeded up my own development...I've seen blacks in college struggling with elementary concepts because they were not used to working with concepts (be they mathematical or sociological). So I must say I end here pretty happy with the ABC program. A lot of my reservations still stand, but I think ABC is a good way to try to get to XYZ.

One question included in the questionnaire was, "How satisfied are you with...developing a clear sense of who I am?" The results support Riesman's feeling about minority group members. ABC students (71%) and the control group of black students who remained at home (74%) were more satisfied than the white independent school students (50%). Surprisingly, the students who remained at home were as satisfied as ABC students. This may mean that they also made progress in developing their self-awareness during high school. It may

also mean their standards for establishing their identity were not as high as those of ABC students, who had more of an "outside look" than students who attended high school at home.

One of the major goals of the ABC Program is that students enrolled feel that they are in control of their own destiny. Coleman indicates that a child's sense of *control of environment* is more strongly related to achievement than any other variable. When one reads the applications of ABC students, particularly their own statements and recommendations from people who knew them, it becomes obvious that the students who were selected already possessed an above-average feeling of fate-control. The Coleman report included a study of attitudes in which students were asked to agree or disagree with several statements relating to the concept of fatalism. One was, "Good luck is more important than hard work for success." Another was, "People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life."

Nationally, only 12% of the black students in Coleman's study agreed with each of these statements. They were included in the ABC questionnaire, and even fewer ABC students agreed with them. Among the sophomores, only 4% indicated that good luck was more important than hard work for success and 8% that "People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life." Several other statements were: "Every time I try to get ahead something or somebody stop me," and "I sometimes

feel that I just can't learn."

Figure 41 indicates that white prep school students in tenth grade had a significantly lower fatalism score than ABC students ($P < .001$). That is, white students felt more in control of their own lives.

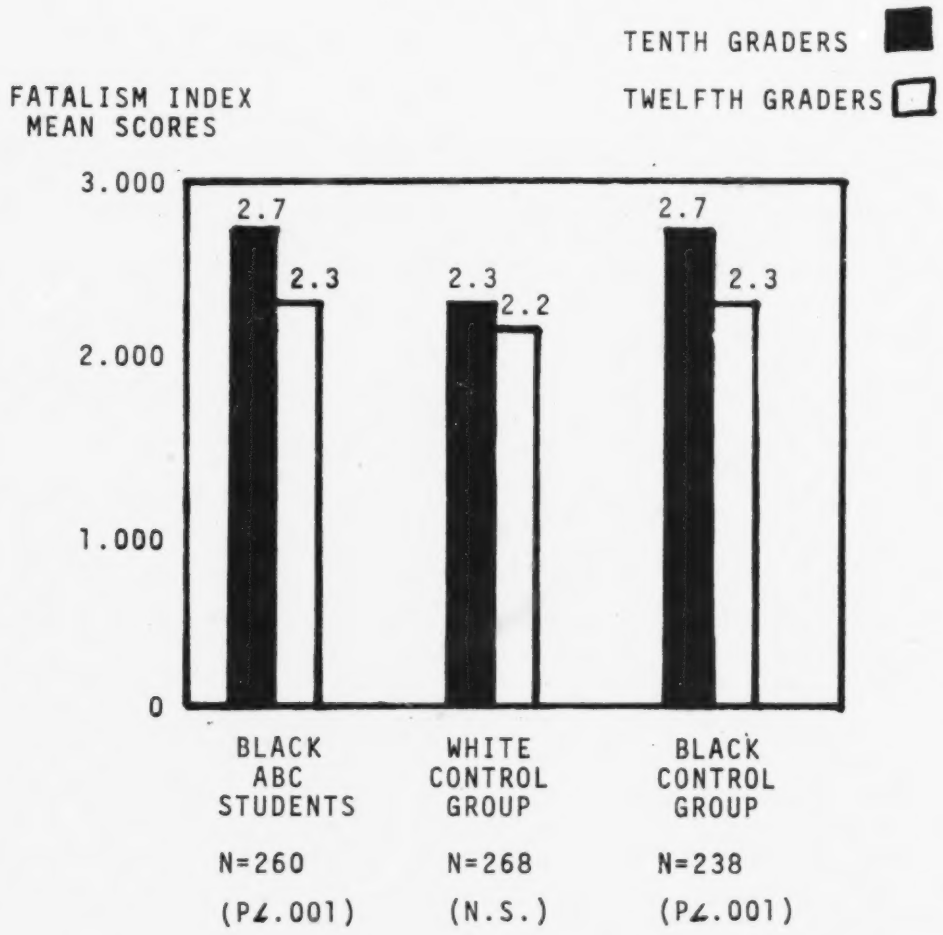
It is interesting to note that twelfth grade ABC students had a significantly lower mean score than tenth grade ABC students on the fatalism index. (Twelfth graders felt more in control of their lives.) The white twelfth graders had approximately the same score as the white tenth graders. Thus, the gap between ABC students and their more affluent white classmates was virtually eliminated.

The following statements by ABC students indicated this increased sense of fate control:

> My experience over the past two years have given me a much brighter outlook and I feel very much in control of my life's course.
>
> I think I am in a better position to control [my future] now...because...now if I want to do something I can see what the man is going to say...and I can react to him better than he could react to me.
>
> Boarding school definitely shaped my character towards independence and self-reliance. I was able to adapt to the various life-styles I came into contact [with]...When one attends boarding school he seems to have a maturing experience.

This increase in the sense of fate control, which the fatalism index shows, cannot be clearly attributed to participation in the ABC Program, since the control group of black

FIGURE 41. "FATALISM" SCORES* OF ABC STUDENTS, WHITE INDEPENDENT SCHOOL STUDENTS AND BLACK PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS**



ABC sophomores' sense of fate control was significantly lower than that of their white classmates. Among seniors, there was no significant difference. The control group of black students in public school had the same scores as ABC students.

*LOWER SCORES INDICATE A GREATER SENSE OF FATE CONTROL.
**THE INDEX WAS CONSTRUCTED USING RESPONSES TO THE QUESTIONS APPEARING IN APPENDIX F-3.

students at home who attended public school showed the same trend. Thus it may be that the increasing sense of fate control may be a normal development between the ages of fifteen and eighteen for talented black teenagers.

However, it is possible that the methods used in this study underestimate the effect of the ABC experience in developing self-confidence. Nearly all of the students in this control group of seniors had strong high school records and were planning to attend college. On the other hand, it was indicated earlier by another control group study that approximately 40% of the ABC students would not have entered college if they had remained at home.

One ABC girl stated that, "The schools at home... give you inner confidence. Maybe it's because the majority are black at that school." Even if the fatalism index indicated that ABC students scored approximately the same as the group of students who remained at home, one might feel that the confidence exhibited by ABC students may be of a more durable nature. It has stood the test of both their home environment and their independent school environment, in which the academic challenge was greater and in which they were in a racial minority. According to Dr. Poussaint:

> When Negroes are interacting in a school situation which approximates the world in which they must cope-i.e., one with whites-their sense of control and

> achievement increases. Our emphasis here is not that black students' being in the presence of white students increases their sense of control and level of achievement, but that their being in a proximate real world suggests to them that they can cope in any situation, not just one in which they are interacting with others who have been defined as inferior."[57]

In summary, it appears that ABC students had a high level of self-esteem, they felt intelligent and popular, were rather satisfied with their level of self-awareness, and seemed to feel they were in control of their own destiny. Participation in ABC did not seem to reduce any of these characteristics, and it may have increased them.

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

SECTION VI

RACIAL RELATIONS AT SCHOOL

RACIAL RELATIONS AT SCHOOL

> Knowledge about and acquaintance with members of minority groups make for tolerant and friendly attitudes...Contacts that bring knowledge and acquaintance are likely to engender sounder beliefs concerning minority groups, and for this reason contribute to the reduction of prejudice...Prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports ...and if it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups.
> [Gordon W. Allport][58]

> We seem to observe black METCO students moving away from a belief in integration--the very concept which, at least initially, was responsible for the METCO Program...Bussed students report less friendliness from whites, more free time spent with members of their own race, more incidents of prejudice. The longer the contact with whites, the fewer the kinds of interracial experiences that might lead to a reduction in racial hostility...The trends do point to a potentially explosive situation.
> [David Armor][59]

These two statements point out an apparent conflict. Allport predicted that racial relations between blacks and whites could produce an increase in integrationist ideology, a desire for further interracial contacts, and a greater level of contact. However, in studying the METCO Program, which buses black Boston students to predominantly white suburbs, Armor reported just the opposite. There was an increase in black separatist ideology, a reduction in METCO students' desire to associate with whites and a lessening level of interracial contact.

To some extent this conflict can be explained by the fact that the METCO situation did not meet Allport's requirements of "equal status contact." METCO students were on the average weaker than their classmates in academic performance, and they were from families of lower socioeconomic status. Moreover, to some extent they were viewed as "outsiders" who did not have a right to attend suburban schools but were doing so because of special privileges.[60]

In many ways Allport's "equal status" provision was more closely met by the ABC Program. While independent schools were not the natural homes of ABC students, this was also true of their classmates. One white ABC girl said:

> You can come here and wear a pair of blue jeans. A pair of sandals can go with an outfit just as well as a pair of twenty-dollar shoes...Less emphasis is put on what you wear and how much it costs...When a student looks at me, I don't feel they're trying to sum up my financial status. At home everybody knows your background and how intellectual or smart you are, and they still concentrate more on your background. Here they think that if she got into the school, she must have something. It doesn't matter whether her background is that great or not.*

As reported earlier, ABC students were, on the average, approximately as strong as their classmates in rank in class. Moreover, their attrition rate was lower. This lower attrition rate is probably at least as much an indication of their

---

*There, however, is considerable evidence that white ABC girls were more readily accepted socially than non-white girls.

successful social adjustment as of their academic performance.

Figure 42 indicates that independent schools felt that most ABC students made a good social adjustment.

Some mention has been made (and more will follow) about culture shock and racial difficulties. One of the most frequently asked questions about ABC is "How do students from disadvantaged backgrounds adjust socially to schools with so many wealthy white students?" As indicated earlier, ABC students entered the program rated very highly "as a student" and also "as a person" in their previous schools. Whatever it was that produced positive feelings among their earlier guidance counselors tended to continue in the ABC schools.

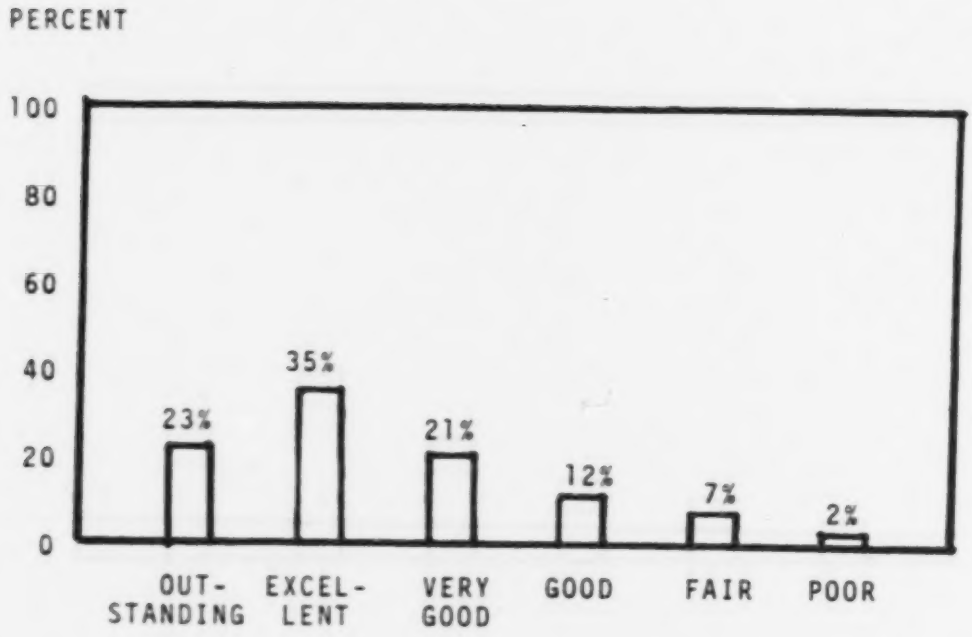
Davidson and Greenberg compared successful and unsuccessful students from poor families, and concluded:

> The personality variables that differentiated the high and low achievers in this sample of lower-class children were similar to those that have been reported to distinguish achievers from underachievers in the middle class. Successful achievement in our schools, as they are now constituted, seems to be related to good self-concept, adequate controls, and directed effort, as well as acceptance of authority demands.[61]

Even though their environment changed, most ABC students were able to adapt successfully.

Most ABC students were extremely resilient. Their home environments have often been described as places which bring about the destruction of many of their residents. Although

FIGURE 42. TWELFTH GRADE "SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT" OF ABC STUDENTS (AS INDICATED BY MEMBER SCHOOLS)



(N=1093)

many other teenagers in their home communities do not come close to fulfilling their potential, ABC students were certainly not overwhelmed by their home environment.

Moreover, for the most part, ABC students were able to withstand the stresses of an independent school environment, stresses which affected all students to some extent but which might have seemed particularly acute for students coming out of poverty neighborhoods. While resiliency has not been clearly stated as one of the admissions criteria, it is probably true that staff members of the ABC Program and admissions officers of the member schools were looking for this potential among ABC candidates.

To some extent there was a greater sense of students having "common goals" in independent schools than in suburban schools. Useem's METCO study [62] reported a sense of resentment which existed among lower status white students against black students who were more upwardly mobile. While this type of feeling may have existed to some extent in ABC independent schools, it was not as much of a factor, since the white students themselves were from affluent families and expected to become professionals. Thus, they did not expect serious rivalry from non-whites.

In responding to several questions, most ABC students indicated that their status in their schools was rather

satisfactory. Only 7% reported that teachers treated black students "worse than white students". Only 6% reported that they were "among the least popular" students in their grade. More than 60% said that black and white students "treat each other fairly", and a similar proportion felt that they were a "fully accepted member of the school community."

Allport said that a sense of "common humanity" improves race relations. Both ABC students and white independent school students had among their most important goals "finding personal happiness", "having a good family life", and "being of service to others" (although it is not clear to what extent they perceive that this commonality exists).

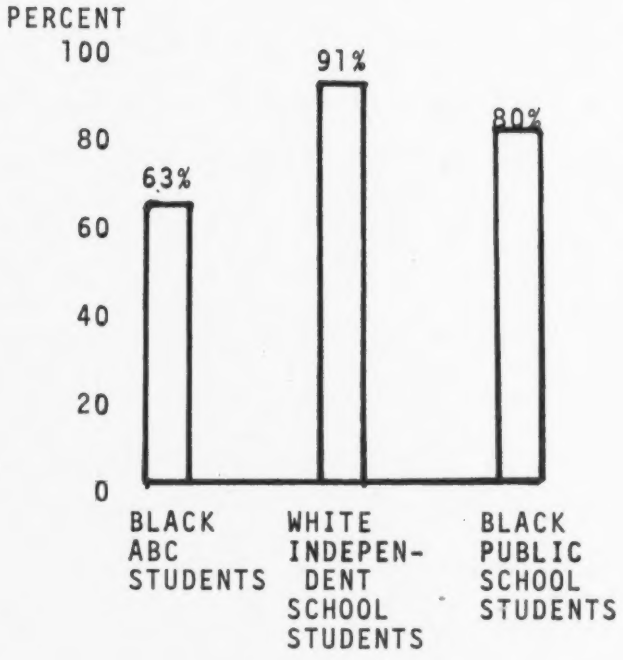
The ABC experience more closely fit the conditions set by Allport than did that of METCO. What were the ABC findings with regard to racial relations?

IDEOLOGY

Armor's findings led him to conclude that placing black students in predominantly white schools can increase their "separatist" attitudes:

> They are beginning to embrace ideological movements which stress black separation and control...There seems to be a definite possibility that the changes in METCO attitudes are not simply a manifestation of changes going on in the black community, but rather are a result of the METCO experience itself.[63]

FIGURE 43. PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS WHO FELT THAT THEY WERE "FULLY ACCEPTED MEMBERS OF THE SCHOOL COMMUNITY"

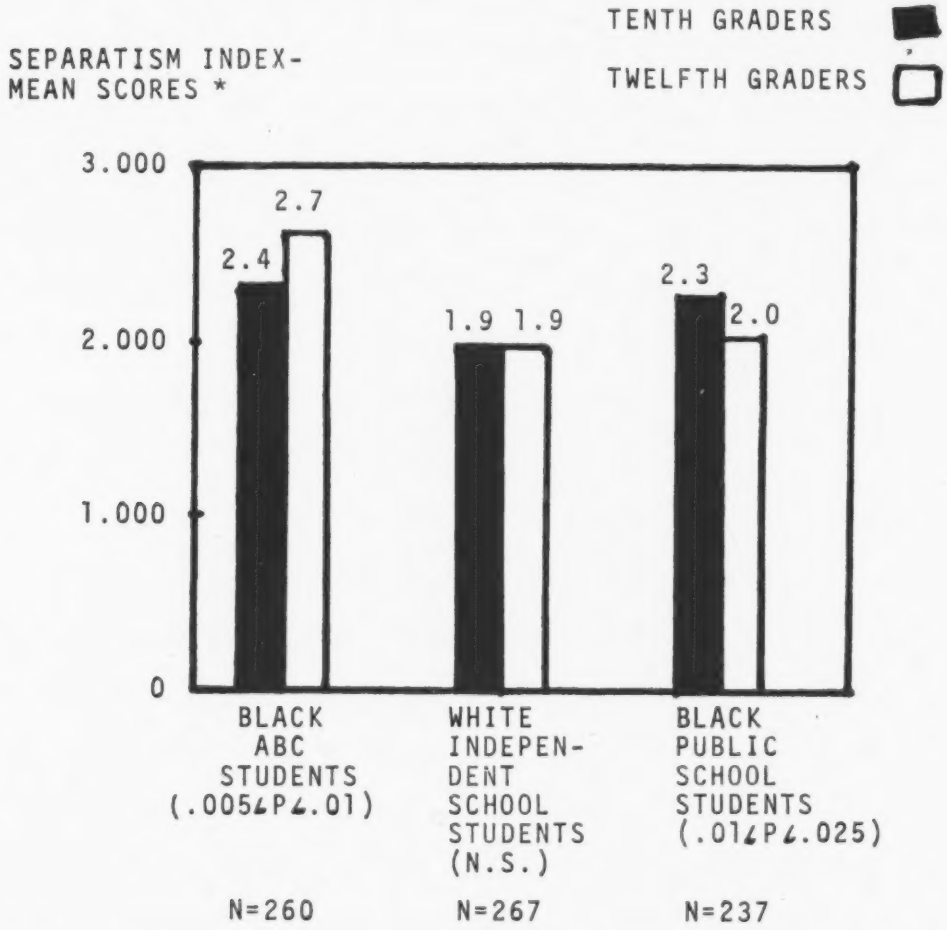


($P < .001$)

To some extent the ideology of ABC students moved in the same direction. For example, 27% of the seniors agreed with the statement "Most black people should live in black areas", as compared to 14% of the ABC sophomores. Nearly all (90%) entering sophomores agreed that "Black and white people have to learn to get along with one another in school, work, and social life." A somewhat lower proportion of the seniors (80%) agreed. It was possible to construct an index of "separatism" using responses to five questions, which appear in Appendix F-3. While this index indicated that ABC seniors were statistically significantly more "separatist" than tenth graders, the reverse was true among the control group of black students who attended public school at home and had less daily contact with whites. (See Figure 44)

The idea of attending school with a minority of whites rather than a majority became increasingly appealing to METCO students. In response to the question "If you could be in any school you wanted, how many students would be white?", 16% of the METCO students indicated that they wanted less than half white in 1968 and 38% in 1970.[64] Similarly, there was an increase from 22% to 34% in the proportion of METCO students who wanted a minority of white teachers.[65] While the "separatist" index of ABC students showed the same trend as that of METCO students, the responses of ABC seniors were not

FIGURE 44. RACIAL "SEPARATISM" SCORES OF BLACK ABC STUDENTS, WHITE INDEPENDENT SCHOOL STUDENTS AND BLACK PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS**



The separatism index of tenth grade ABC students was not significantly different from that of tenth grade black public school students. Among twelfth graders, the separatism index of ABC students was significantly higher.

*Higher scores indicate more separatist feelings.
**Based on responses to questions which appear in Appendix F-3.

significantly different from those of the sophomores on these two questions.

NATURE OF INTERRACIAL EXPERIENCE

In describing the METCO Program, Armor reported a worsening of racial relations over time. The proportion of METCO students "personally experiencing two or more incidents of prejudice during the past year" increased from 35% (in 1968) to 58% (in 1970).[66]* Fewer students described their white classmates as "friendly" (a decline from 74% to 63% over the same time period).[67] Students were asked "How many of your teachers this year seem to care about how well you do in school?" There was an increase in the percentage of students who felt two or fewer teachers cared (from 25% to 44%).[68]

Some of the ABC responses were similar but others differed from the METCO findings. For example, there was no significant difference between sophomores and seniors in the proportion who felt only two or fewer teachers cared for them. ABC seniors did, however, report a greater incidence of prejudice than did entering sophomores. In response to the statement "During the past year I have personally experienced prejudice",

---

*METCO and ABC students answering this type of question almost certainly interpreted the word "prejudice" to refer to its more overt forms. It is inconceivable that a substantial proportion of a group of black students could have attended any predominantly white school and experienced no prejudice during the course of a full year.

44% of the tenth graders and 61% of the seniors agreed. Fewer seniors (76%) than sophomores (85%) described their white classmates as "friendly." The difference between the responses of sophomores and seniors may not really represent a difference in opinion. It may be due to the fact that a maturation process took place in which denial mechanisms were reduced and confidence to admit one's true feelings increased.

Students were asked to evaluate eleven aspects of racial interrelations. On four of these statements, the responses of the sophomore and senior groups of ABC students were statistically significantly different. Fewer seniors (30%) than sophomores (41%) reported that blacks and whites "like each other", and more indicated that "They are suspicious of each other" (33% of the sophomores and 49% of the seniors). However, a higher proportion of seniors responded that "They learn from each other" (80% vs. 69%), and that "They tolerate each other" (80% vs. 58%).

Significantly, the white independent school students showed changes in the same direction as did ABC students on ten of the eleven questions.

While Armor reported that the METCO experience was one of uniform decline in racial relations, ABC's experience was mixed. In comparison to the black students who attended public

school at home, ABC students reported better race relations in five of the six areas in which there was a significant difference. While the racial attitudes and interracial relations described by ABC students are disappointing for many people who expected other results, very few independent school students said that race relations deteriorated to the point of physical violence. Nine per cent of the ABC students reported that members of different racial groups "fight each other", as compared to 35% of the control group of black public school students.

It is possible to exaggerate some of the negative aspects of interracial relations since difficulties often receive more attention. Among the eleven statements characterizing race relations between blacks and whites, the three most frequently chosen by ABC seniors were: "They learn from each other" (80%), "They tolerate each other" (80%), and "They treat each other fairly" (64%). Those chosen least frequently were "They try to put each other down" (20%), "They avoid each other" (16%), and "They fight each other" (9%). It is interesting that virtually the same choices were made by the white classmates of ABC students, as Figure 45 indicates.

LEVEL OF INTERRACIAL CONTACT

According to Armor, the most important indication of the "failure of integration" in METCO was that students' behavior changed in a "separatist" direction. A greater

FIGURE 45. CHARACTERIZATIONS OF INTERRACIAL RELATIONS BY BLACK ABC AND WHITE INDEPENDENT SCHOOL TWELFTH GRADE STUDENTS

MOST FREQUENT RESPONSES:

BLACK ABC STUDENTS

"They learn from each other" (80%)
"They tolerate each other" (80%)
"They treat each other fairly" (64%)

WHITE STUDENTS

"They treat each other fairly" (82%)
"They tolerate each other" (79%)
"They learn from each other" (72%)

LEAST FREQUENT RESPONSES:

BLACK ABC STUDENTS

"They try to put each other down" (20%)
"They avoid each other" (16%)
"They fight each other" (9%)

WHITE STUDENTS

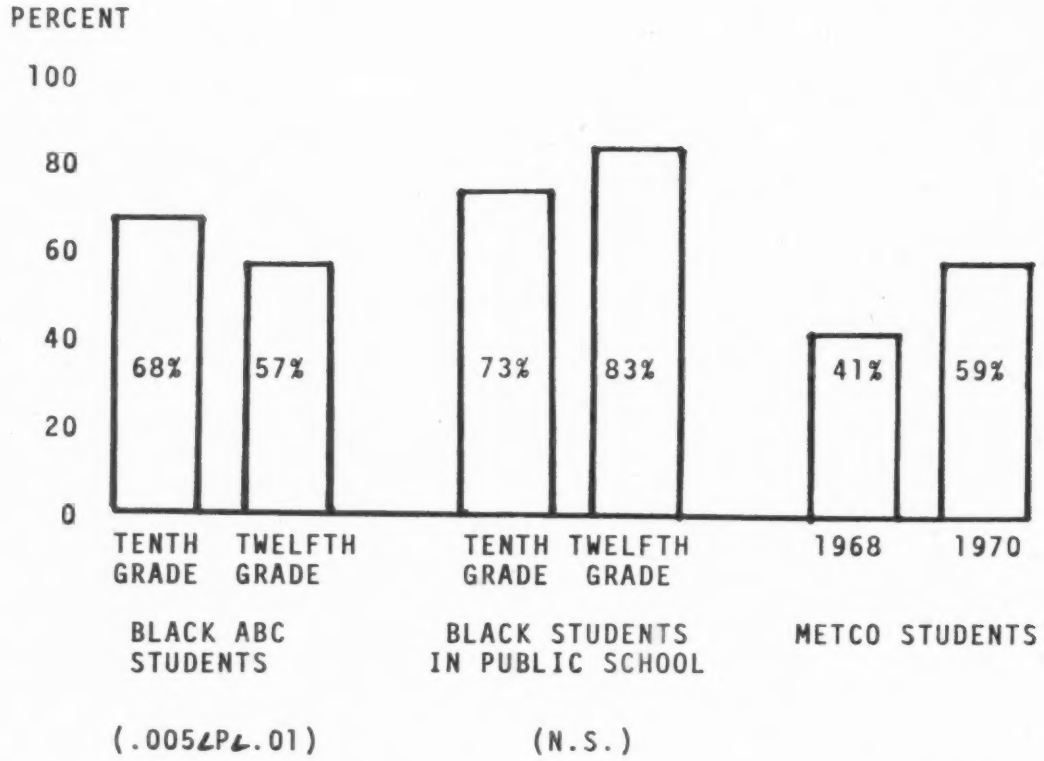
"They avoid each other" (15%)
"They try to put each other down"(7%)
"They fight each other" (2%)

proportion were spending "most of their free time" with other black METCO students, an increase from a minority (41%) to a majority (59%) between 1968 and 1970.[69] Thus, Armor reported that "The longer the contact with whites, the fewer the kinds of interracial experiences that might lead to a reduction in racial hostility."[70] It is not necessary to interpret this "failure of integration" as a negative development. It may be related to the healthy development of increased black pride.

The ABC experience is different from METCO in regard to voluntary racial contact. Sixty-eight per cent of the ABC sophomores reported that they spent "most of their free time" with black students, and 5% spent most of their free time with whites. However, among the seniors, the percentages were 57% and 17%, respectively. Among the black students in the control group who remained at home, only 3% of both sophomores and seniors spent most of their free time with white students.

An important related question is "Thinking of your five best friends, how many of them are white?" Fewer seniors than sophomores indicated that they had no white friends (34% of the seniors as compared to 46% of the sophomores). The reverse was true of the black students attending public school at home, where the proportion indicating that they had no white friends was 57% of the sophomores and 67% of the seniors.

FIGURE 46. PROPORTION OF STUDENTS WHO SPENT MOST OF THEIR FREE TIME WITH BLACK STUDENTS



Since nearly all ABC students attended residential schools, many of them had roommates. Allport might have predicted that, given free choice, ABC seniors would be more likely to have white roommates than would ABC sophomores. The METCO experience might lead one to predict that the reverse would be true. In fact, there was no statistically significant difference between the proportions of ABC sophomores (25%) and seniors (26%) who had white roommates.*

Thus, the level of interracial contact between black ABC students and their white classmates was not high, but it did tend to increase. Fewer ABC seniors than sophomores spent most of their free time with other black students, more had at least one white friend, and approximately the same proportion had white roommates.

EXPLANATION OF RACIAL RELATIONS

In 1963, when ABC was founded, one of the chief concerns of those who established the program was that ABC students relate successfully to their white classmates. Boarding school was seen as a transition for them from a segregated environment to a "truly integrated society". While some of the findings which have just been presented were more

---

*However, a higher proportion of seniors had no roommates at all. Among those ABC students who did have roommates, 35% of the sophomores and 39% of the seniors had white roommates.

optimistic than those reported by METCO, they certainly reflect far less satisfactory results than integrationists were hoping for in the mid-1960's. Why has this been the case?

Given the past history of this country and human nature, there are many reasons why an "integration program" would have difficulty. It is natural that the coming together of ABC students who were poor and black with affluent white students and faculty members would not take place without some problems. In the early 1960's, the expectations of some people regarding integration were so high that it was extremely difficult to achieve results which could be considered satisfactory. The discussion of the ABC experience helps explain some of the reasons that progress towards a "truly integrated society" has not proceeded more easily, and why many people have abandoned it as a goal.

One of the major reasons expectations of integration were unrealistic was a failure to anticipate the growth of black pride. With the increase in this phenomenon, it was more likely that ABC students, like other people, would prefer to associate with individuals from a similar background. The desire for groups such as Afro-American societies grew, particularly in predominantly white schools. Beginning in the late 1960's, Afro-American societies began to be established in

many of the ABC schools. Sixty-four per cent of the ABC sophomores and 85% of the seniors indicated that they were members. Thirty-nine per cent of the black twelfth grade ABC students were *officers* of Afro-American societies as compared with 13% of the control group of black students at home.

Not only did ABC students have an increasing desire to associate with blacks (and occasionally feelings of guilt when associating with whites), but it was easier to do so. When ABC started in 1963, very few member schools had more than one per cent black enrollment. By 1972, the average was 5%, with several having more than 10%. It might have been felt that ABC students would become totally assimilated and would find the independent school environment entirely satisfactory. This has not been the case. A majority of ABC students gave a positive response to the statement, "I really miss a black atmosphere"* (61% of the tenth graders and 71% of the seniors agreed). An ABC college senior, looking back on his ABC experience, wrote:

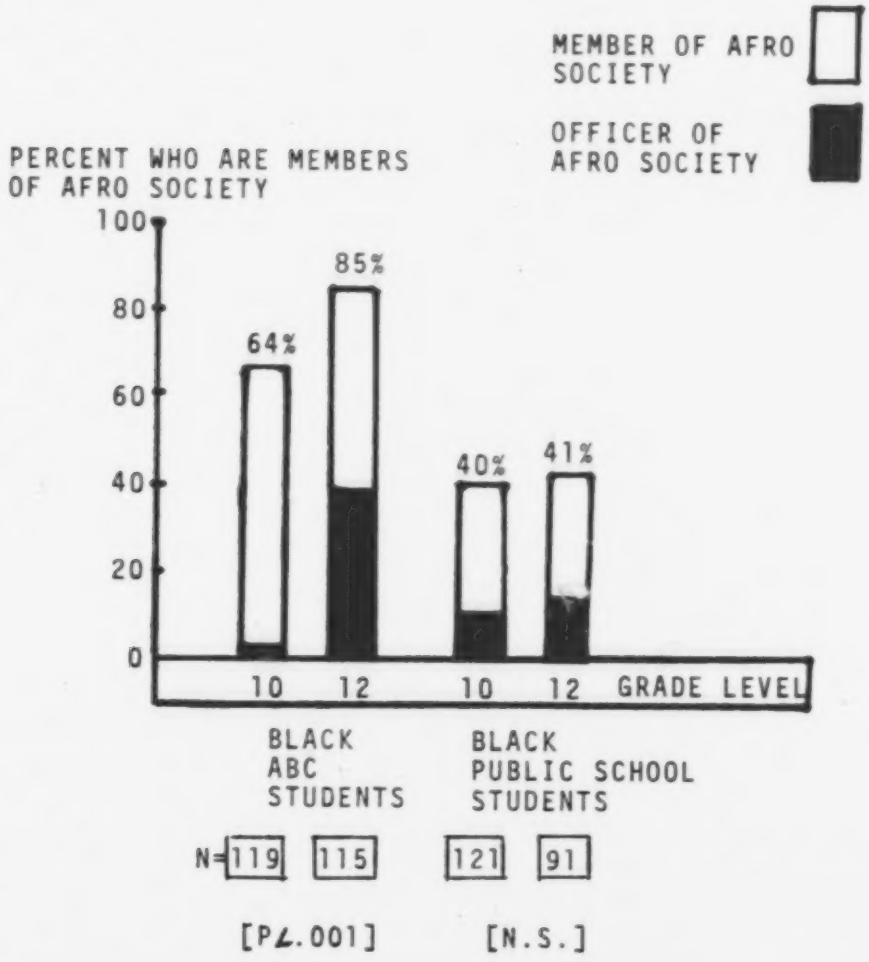
> There were no black papers to read about what was going on at home, and there was no black community where the school was, but I never lost sight of myself. In fact, being around white folk as I was contributed to my sense of blackness and pride. I knew I wasn't white and while I associated on a social basis with whites, I never had the desire to be like them.

In addition to the increase in black pride, the factor of culture shock made the integration process more difficult.

---

*Similarly, 70% of the ABC Puerto Rican students and 55% of the American Indians agreed with the statement, "I really miss a Puerto Rican [Indian] atmosphere here".

FIGURE 47. MEMBERSHIP IN AFRO-AMERICAN SOCIETIES: BLACK ABC AND PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS



A GREATER PERCENTAGE OF BLACK ABC STUDENTS THAN OF BLACK PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS WERE MEMBERS OF AFRO-AMERICAN SOCIETIES IN GRADE TEN (P<.001) AND GRADE TWELVE (P<.001).

Figure 48, which shows the "alienation from school", indicates that ABC students were significantly more alienated than their white classmates. ($P < .001$) This figure is based on the responses to ten questions, many of which are related to culture shock, which appear in Appendix F-3. For example, 38% of the ABC students, as compared to 8% of their white classmates, agreed with the statement "I can't talk naturally here the way I could at home".

One ABC senior said:

> You can't pal around with the dudes like you could at home, and you can't use some of the phraseology. Like the other day, ---- stood there and said, "I am a good nigger," but he meant it in another way. We were sitting at a table with a whole lot of white dudes and...we had to laugh. At home you could say it and feel at ease, but you have to watch out sometimes with phrases like that.

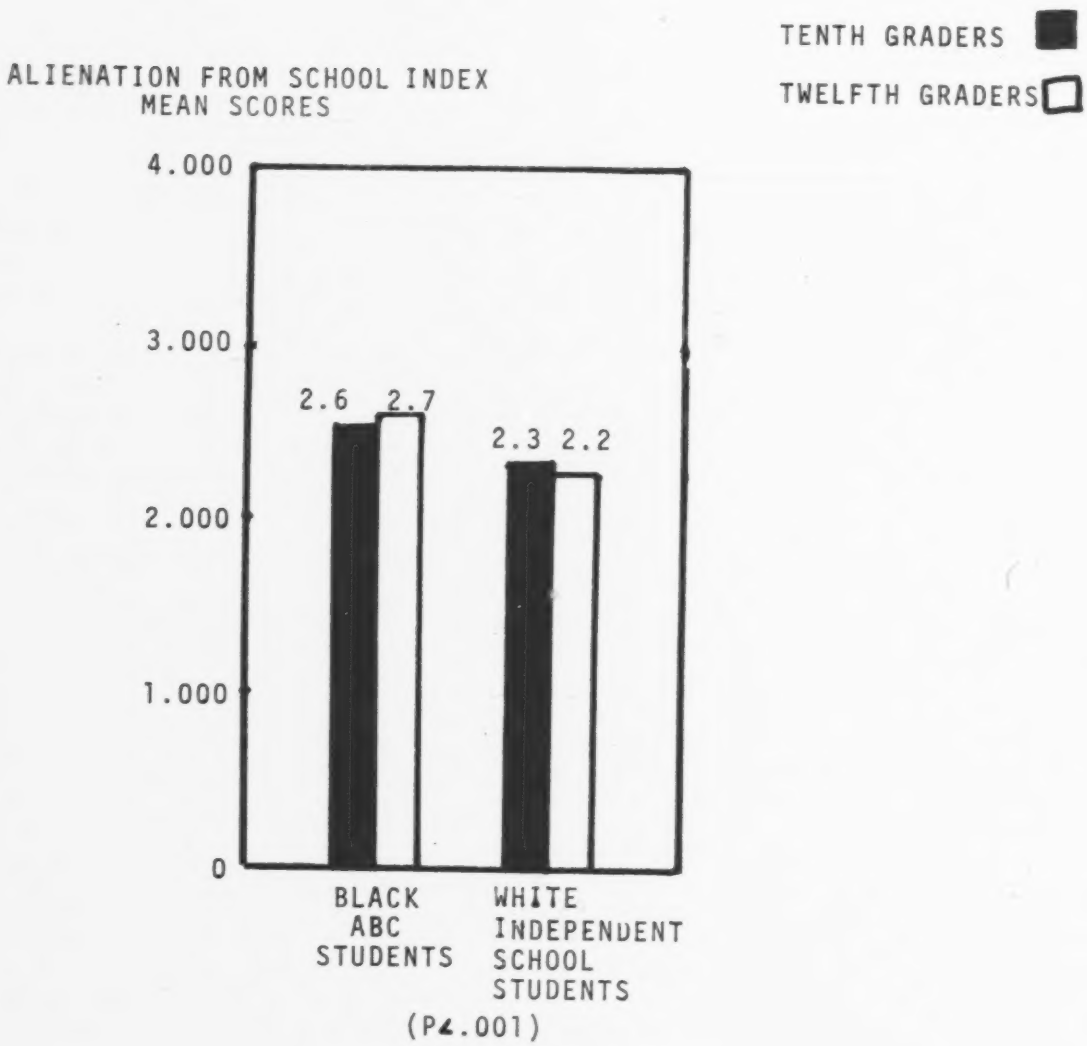
Another statement in the alienation index was: "At school I often feel that most other students have values and morals which are different than mine." 66% of the ABC students and 48% of their white classmates agreed.

In addition to the increase in black pride and the factor of culture shock, some of the attitudes and behavior of whites at independent schools reduced the ABC students' desire for integration.

One white student wrote:

> I feel that all human beings deserve the same basic rights. I also believe that going to boarding school is not a right that everybody deserves. It is for those who can afford it and that is all.

FIGURE 48. ALIENATION FROM SCHOOL OF ABC STUDENTS AND WHITE INDEPENDENT SCHOOL STUDENTS*



The alienation from school index of tenth and twelfth grade ABC students was not significantly different. However, at both grade levels it indicated that ABC students felt significantly more alienated than their white classmates.

*Based on responses to questions appearing in Appendix F-3.
**Higher scores indicate greater alienation.

In addition to overt acts of prejudice as well as more subtle forms, the ignorance of whites about blacks was frustrating for black students to tolerate. An ABC sophomore wrote:

> Being brought up in a different environment, it is hard to adjust to the "strange" ways the white people act. Some are very stupid because they ask questions that common sense could answer.

Many whites have had so little experience with blacks that they make unwarranted generalizations. An ABC senior said:

> Black students can benefit only in an atmosphere in which they are allowed to exist; where they can be atheist without making the entire race atheist; where they can be uncoordinated without being midgets; and where they can choose which black hand to take in times of need.

This student pointed up a problem which existed at nearly all ABC schools: a virtual absence of black adults. Thus there was a heavy burden placed on black students to educate not only their classmates, but also their teachers and administrators. Another senior wrote:

> I'm tired of being under the microscope explaining things which pertain to my people and at times can only be understood by black people, yet, I understand that the ignorant white masses must be educated.

One question students were asked was "Who in school do you talk to about personal problems?" A higher proportion of ABC students than of their white classmates or the black control group of students in public school at home responded "no one". ($P < .001$)

One girl said of her faculty members:

> They'd *try* to understand, but they can't... You can talk your head off to them, but they just can't understand what you are talking about...There's not a single faculty member I could go to and really talk to. Nobody here except the black students...

Black students were rather conspicuous in their schools and often felt that they were on exhibit: "They want you to write about 'HOW IT IS TO BE BLACK -- HOW IT *IS*.'" Another senior indicated that "Whenever we get together they say we are segregating ourself and become very upset." These statements indicate some of the frustrations of the ABC students.

If one examines the attitude and behavior of white students, it becomes apparent that an undue burden was placed on non-whites to serve as integrators. For example, it was reported that the percentage of ABC students who spent most of their free time with white students was 5% among the sophomores and 17% among the seniors. More than half of the ABC students spent most of their free time with black students and many whites felt that ABC students were insufficiently integrated into their schools.

The responses of *white* independent school students to the same question pointed out that only 1% of them spent most of their free time with black students. Moreover, only 2% of the white students had black roommates, whereas 25% of the ABC students had white roommates. To some extent these low figures are explained by the fact that there were not very many black students or that some black students did not welcome association

with whites. However, it was also partly a function of the preference of some white students for living with people from a similar background.

There are several other factors related to the differences between blacks and whites which made integration somewhat difficult to achieve. One was the perception of interracial relations. A white non-ABC senior at one of the member schools commented:

> There really is no racial issue. Many students just don't bother improving or provoking the issue. Most are here for their own reasons and the racial issue doesn't affect them.

It was previously indicated that white students were more likely to be optimistic about racial relations than were blacks. For example, while 64% of the ABC seniors indicated that black and white students treated each other fairly, 82% of the white non-ABC seniors reported this was the case. Thirty per cent of the ABC seniors felt that students of different racial groups in their schools "like each other" compared to 67% of the white students. This is a position that most whites in America have always taken. They have reported that they get along with blacks and are well-liked by them.

Most ABC students were minority group members; however, for most ABC black students, life at an independent school was their first prolonged experience with being in the minority of a student body. Only about 15% of the black ABC students came

from public schools in which the whites were in the majority; however, they entered ABC schools which were on the average 95% white. Besides the racial difference in the composition of the schools, mention was made earlier of the socioeconomic difference between ABC students and their classmates. These schools did not represent such a drastic change in environment for the white non-ABC students enrolled. Many attended independent schools before or public schools in affluent communities. More than 90% of them reported that the last school they attended had a majority of white students enrolled.

Not only did black and white students describe racial relations differently, they also had different evaluations of the racial enrollment of their schools. When asked "What is the racial composition of the school you are currently attending?" 35% of the ABC students responded "majority white" and 65% "all or nearly all white". On the other hand, among the white students, evaluating the same situation, 70% responded "Majority white" and only 30% "all or nearly all white". ($P < .001$) Thus, ten blacks in a student body of 200 might have seemed like a fairly sizeable number when viewed by a white student. However, it probably was considered an inadequate number by a member of that group of ten.

One other issue which deserves mention is that of respect. Students were asked to respond to the question, "How

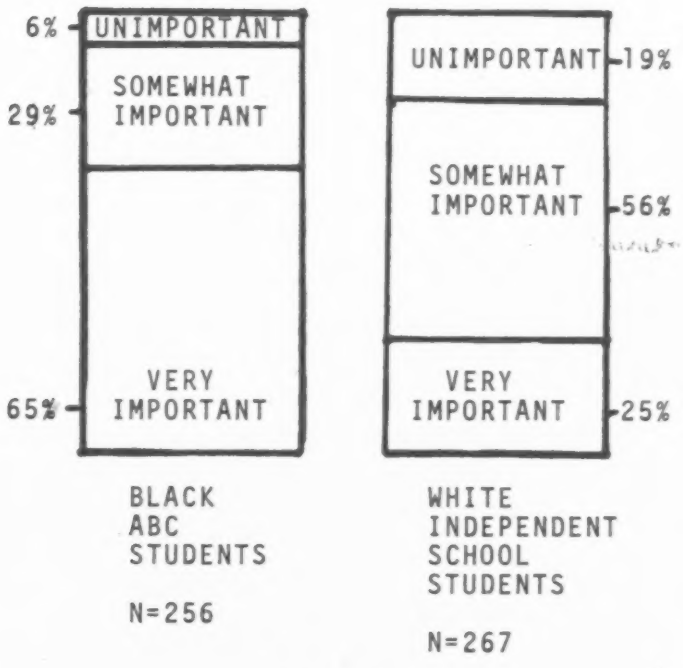
important is it for you to demand and get the respect you deserve? " Figure 49 indicates that many more ABC students than white independent school students felt this was very important. There are many possible explanations for the difference. One obvious reason is that ABC students came from a segment of society which clearly received inadequate respect for centuries, whereas affluent white students could more easily take respect for granted. Occasionally, faculty members of ABC schools reported that ABC students were overly sensitive or easily offended. In their relationships with minority group students, it is important for schools to realize that the issue of respect is one which may be more important for blacks than for white students.*

Changes in racial attitudes and degree of interracial contact may be viewed in various ways by people who support the concept of an integrated society. Perhaps a cynical interpretation would be that ABC is an experiment that has failed. On the average, students who were in the program longer tended to be somewhat more separatist in their philosophy. In addition, the level of interracial contact was not high. It might, therefore, follow that it would have been more desirable if these students had remained at home and retained their more optimistic view of integration.

---

*An even greater proportion of Puerto Rican students, 83%, responded "very important" to this question regarding respect.

FIGURE 49. BLACK ABC STUDENTS' AND WHITE INDEPENDENT SCHOOL STUDENTS' RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO YOU TO DEMAND AND GET THE RESPECT YOU DESERVE?"



($P < .001$)

Another interpretation is possible, one which would permit supporters of the idea of integration to view the results in a more favorable way. By comparison with the METCO Program, ABC students retained a relatively positive attitude toward integration. They did not report an increased desire for fewer white classmates and teachers or a drop in the number of teachers who cared about them.

In comparison with black students attending public school at home, they indicated that blacks and whites at independent school were more likely to "learn from each other" and less likely to "fight" with each other. And in the area of interracial *contact*, it appears that ABC schools provided an environment which produced an increase in association and friendship formation. While several students who had unsatisfactory interracial experiences have been quoted, ABC students also made positive statements regarding race relations. A senior wrote:

> I feel that the day-to-day closeness of people in a semi-closed microcosm helps them to become more aware of each other's problems and emotions. Understanding these problems and emotions can perhaps alleviate some of our country's internal disturbances as boarding students emerge into the outside world.

An entering sophomore said:

> I think I'll enjoy this school because I have woken up to realize that all whites aren't the same.

And a white non-ABC senior said:

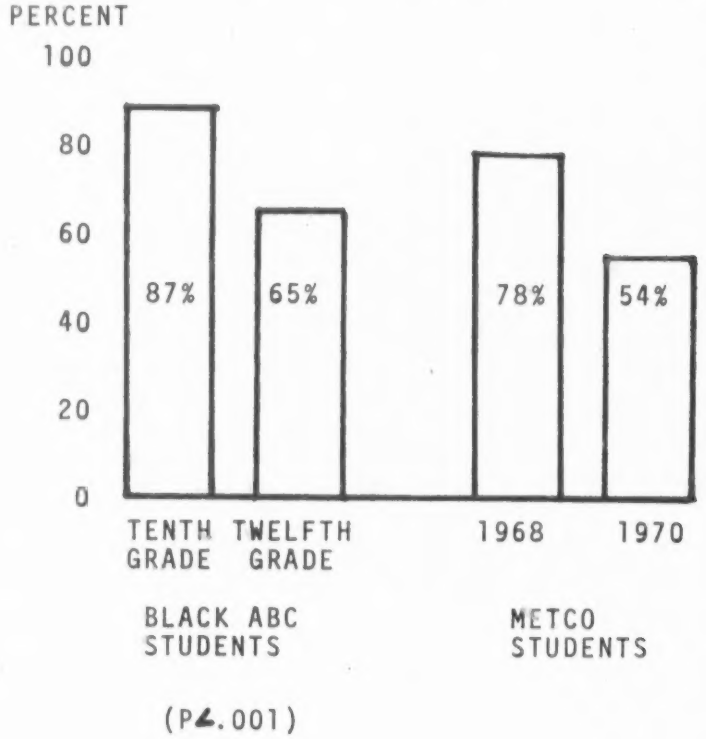
> I roomed with a black ABC student as a sophomore here and look back on it as one of the happiest and most valuable experiences I have ever had. I am very grateful to have had the uncommon luck to live with a black girl of my own age for one year, and learn from and share with her.

The control group of black students who remained at home did, on the average, have more integrationist *attitudes* than did ABC students. However, one could argue that their attitudes were not adequately tested by experience. For the most part, they lived in segregated environments. On the other hand, ABC students spent an average of three years in predominantly white schools. Having experienced both a segregated environment prior to entering ABC and an integrated boarding school, their attitudes were more firmly based on experience. There was some erosion in the percentage of students with "integrationist" attitudes, but not a total rejection of the idea in concept. Fewer seniors (80%) than sophomores (90%) agreed that, "Black and white people have to learn to get along with one another in school work and social life." However, the vast majority did agree with that statement. Given the optimistic expectations which were present when ABC was founded in 1963, the findings may be disappointing to some people. However, given the evaluation of the METCO Program, the history of American society, and the level and quality of interracial contact in the country, it would be inappropriate to conclude that the ABC experience in racial relations represents a failure.

One ABC senior wrote "I do not really feel as if I or any other black students are accepted as an integral part of the school." However, the majority (63%) of ABC students responded positively to the question "Do you feel that you are a fully accepted member of the school community?" Although this percentage was lower than that of their white classmates who felt fully accepted, and the percentage for the control group of black students who attended public school at home, it was still surprisingly high.

Armor indicated that METCO students encountered considerable difficulty and there was erosion in their support of METCO. In response to the question "How favorable are you to the METCO program?", 78% were very favorable in 1968; the proportion dropped to 69% the next year, and to 54% in 1970.[71] Although most ABC students felt the program was worthwhile, there was also a decline in their enthusiasm. Students were asked "Should ABC continue to place students in private boarding schools?" Ninety-nine per cent of the tenth graders and 96% of the twelfth graders agreed. However, the proportion who responded "definitely yes" was 90% of the tenth graders but only 65% of the twelfth graders (9% of the tenth graders and 31% of the twelfth graders responded "probably yes"). In response to the statement "If I had it to do over, I would choose to come here again", approximately half of the ABC students agreed; 30% were unsure; and 20% disagreed. These

FIGURE 50. PROPORTION OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN METCO AND ABC WHO GAVE "VERY FAVORABLE" EVALUATIONS OF THEIR PROGRAMS



figures were approximately the same for both tenth and twelfth graders. A somewhat higher percentage of white students would choose to attend their schools again.*

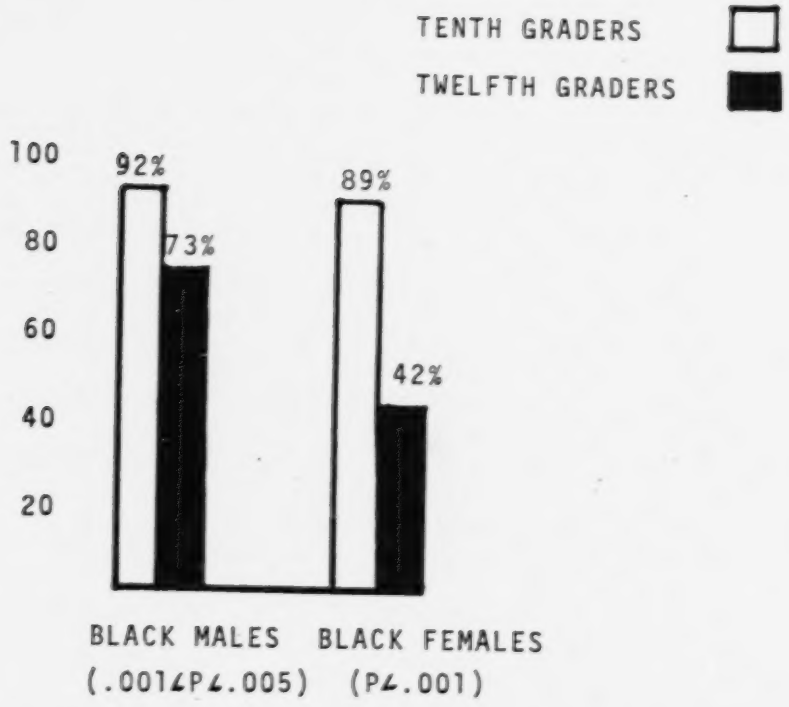
Among the reasons that ABC students had for enrolling in independent schools, the desire for interracial contact did not rate very high. Like their white counterparts, they were primarily interested in obtaining a good education in preparation for college. (In response to the METCO questionnaire, 88% of the students enrolled in that program reported that obtaining a good education was a very important reason, and 15% indicated that contact with whites was very important.[72]) John Killens wrote that "The thing that unites all Black Americans is not our aspiration to integrate into this society, or to separate from it, but our undivided determination to be free men and women in this American society."[73] Many ABC blacks felt that whites were overly concerned about their interracial activity. A declining proportion of black students were willing to adapt their behavior to the desires of the whites around them.

A substantial percentage did feel they were receiving a better preparation for college. However, if they felt they could have remained at home and obtained an equally good

---

*The responses of female ABC students were less positive than those of ABC males. Like METCO girls, they experienced greater difficulty socially than the male participants. For the boys, athletics often provided the means of gaining social acceptance.

FIGURE 51. PROPORTION OF MALE AND FEMALE ABC STUDENTS WHO FELT ABC SHOULD "DEFINITELY CONTINUE TO PLACE STUDENTS IN PRIVATE BOARDING SCHOOLS."

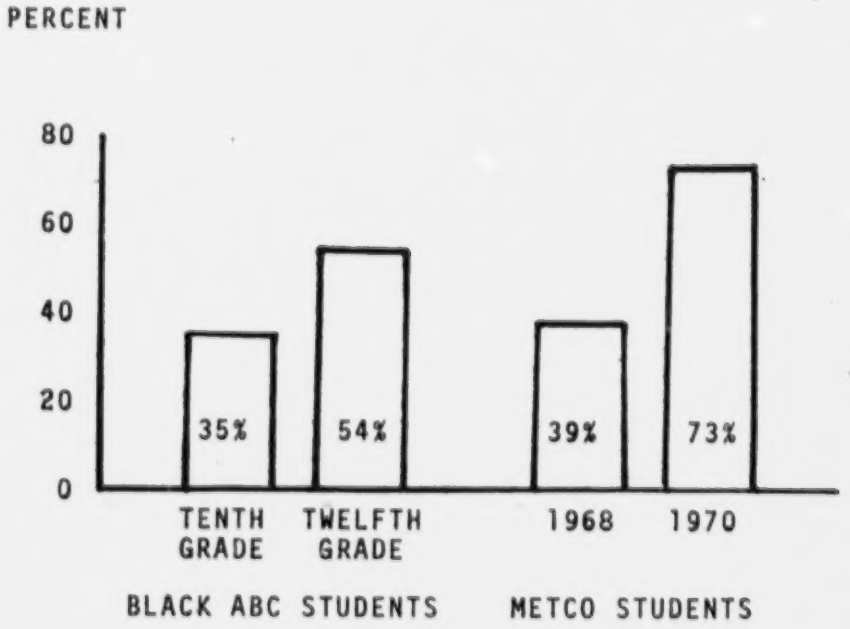


The responses of male and female ABC students were not significantly different among tenth graders, but were significantly different (P<.001) among twelfth graders.

education, many would never have entered independent school. Students were asked "If we could assume all schools are equally good, would you ideally prefer going to school in a private boarding school or in your own community?" Among the control group of black students attending public school at home, figures for tenth and twelfth graders were almost precisely the same: 49% of both groups would have chosen to attend school in their own community. However, among ABC students, a significantly higher percentage of twelfth graders than tenth graders would have preferred attending school in their communities.

METCO students were asked a similar question and the difference between the 1968 and 1970 responses were even greater. In 1968, 39% would prefer attending school in their own community. The proportion increased to 63% in 1969 and 73% in 1970.[74] (See Figure 52) While attending school away from home, these students developed a greater appreciation of their home community. Their relationship to home will be considered in the next section.

FIGURE 52. PROPORTION OF ABC AND METCO STUDENTS WHO WOULD IDEALLY PREFER TO GO TO SCHOOL IN THEIR OWN COMMUNITY IF ALL SCHOOLS WERE EQUALLY GOOD



FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

SECTION VII

RELATIONSHIP TO HOME

RELATIONSHIP TO HOME

(ABC Student)

Going away, I feel closer to the black community now. If you live there all your life you begin to say, "What do I need this for"; you just say "so what -- it's here." But once you go out of it, you can walk back and you say "wow, man", like I've walked down streets a million times, but I've walked down a street in the past few years and I started to cry. For some reason, once you go away, you can come back and say "this is beautiful to me." I like where I live now more....

(Interviewer)

Do you eventually plan to return there?

(ABC Student)

There? No...It's one of the big projects.

(Interviewer)

To the black community?

(ABC Student)

The black community...yes; but there, no.

The discussion of ABC students' relationship to their independent schools mentioned that they were clearly not fully assimilated. Approximately 40% did not feel fully accepted at their schools. Seniors were more alienated and had more separatist attitudes than sophomores. The burden of integration was borne primarily by black students, but the actual level of interracial activity was not high. Most black students spent most of their free time with other blacks and had black roommates. Moreover, they developed an increasing sense of being

black and different from their white classmates.* Eighty-five per cent of the black seniors were members of Afro-American societies. A majority of ABC students said that if the schools at home were as good as the ones they were enrolled in, they would prefer to attend schools in their home communities.

If they were not fully satisfied with attending independent school, can it be said that they maintained a comfortable relationship with their home communities? Some students did, but the following discussion indicates that to some extent they also saw themselves as different and estranged from people back home. A college sophomore said:

> When I went home my first year after prep school I couldn't get along with anybody. I couldn't get along with my mother, I couldn't get along with anybody in my neighborhood; because I was confused I didn't know where I belonged.

Another girl, a high school senior, stated:

> Now when I talk to my friends at home, they don't know what I am talking about...I got so used to talking about national affairs...It makes you sad... I had so many friends at home. I was so eager and anxious to make friends and I was good at it. But I came up here and went to isolated places by myself and I couldn't care less if I had friends.

A senior at an independent boys' school spoke about his relationship with home several years earlier:

> I couldn't say anything to people because I felt I'd be dropping back into prep school vernacular. Everybody'd be looking at me and I would feel odd and out of place.

---

*Similarly, ABC Puerto Rican students became more conscious of being Puerto Rican and American Indians became more aware of their identity.

These are three examples of difficulties ABC students reported having in relation to people back home. Several questions included in the questionnaire that was filled out by ABC students and their white classmates were designed to determine the experience of the total group of ABC students.*

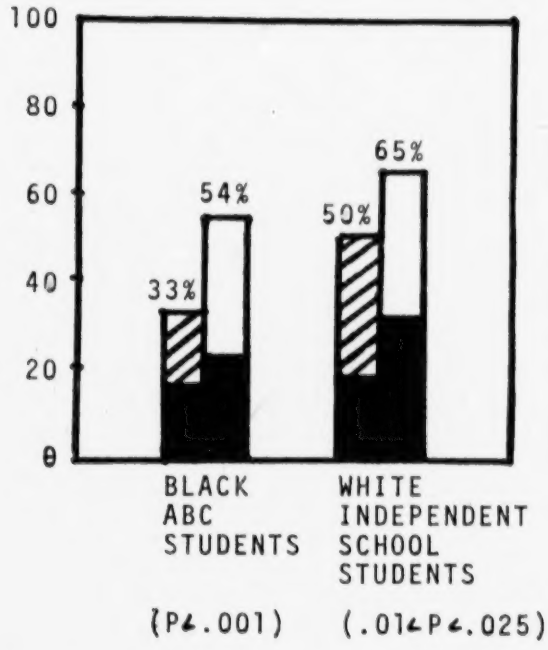
In response to virtually every question, the ABC seniors indicated a greater level of alienation from home than the sophomores. For example, 12% of the sophomores and 19% of the seniors agreed with the statement, "When I talk to my friends back home they don't know what I'm talking about." Thirty-one per cent of the sophomores and 46% of the seniors agreed that "Sometimes when I go home, an old friend or member of my family makes fun of the mannerisms I have acquired in boarding school."

Seniors also were more likely to report that their values and interests had changed and were different from those of people in their home communities. Figure 53 shows the proportion of students who felt their values were different and their interests had changed with regard to their family. In each case, the proportion of seniors was 20% higher. As part of each of these questions, students were also asked, "Is this a problem for you?" and a much smaller proportion indicated that this was the case. Similar responses were given to the same

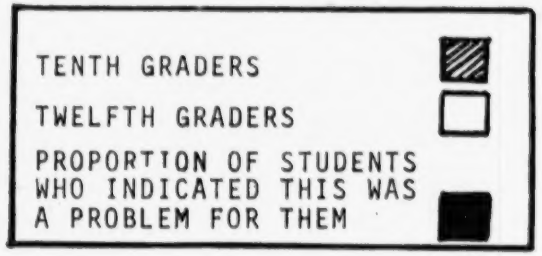
---

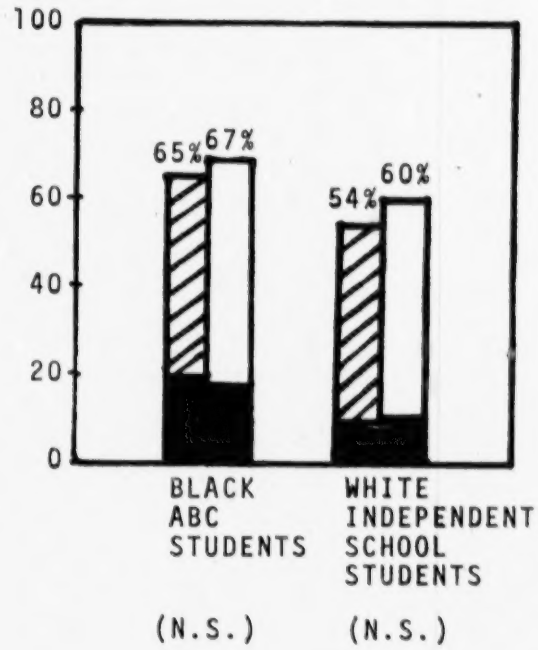
*Unfortunately, these questions were not included in the version of the questionnaire that was filled out by the black control group attending public school at home.

FIGURE 53. VALUES OF ABC STUDENTS, THEIR FAMILIES AND FRIENDS



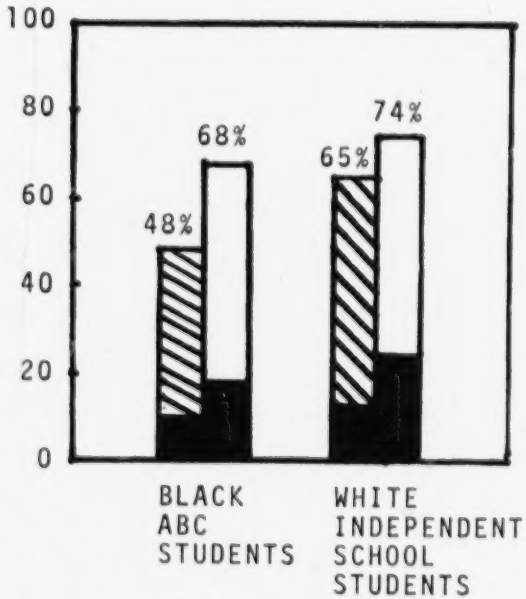
PROPORTION OF ABC STUDENTS AND WHITE INDEPENDENT SCHOOL STUDENTS WHO REPORTED THAT THEIR VALUES WERE DIFFERENT FROM THEIR FAMILIES' VALUES.



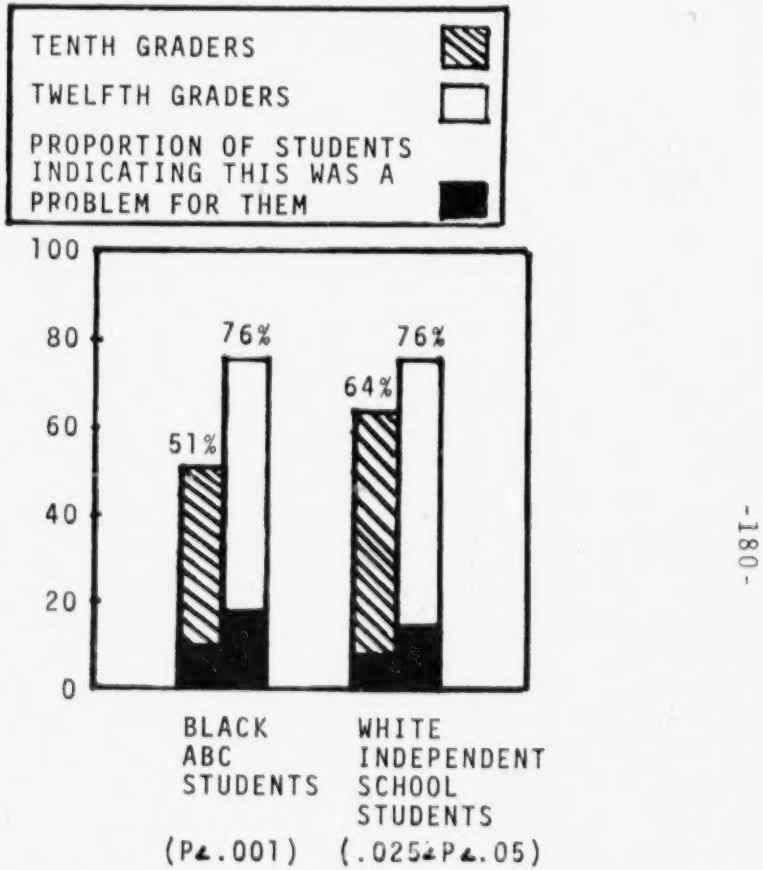


PROPORTION OF ABC STUDENTS AND WHITE INDEPENDENT SCHOOL STUDENTS WHO REPORTED THAT THEIR VALUES WERE DIFFERENT FROM THEIR FRIENDS' VALUES.

FIGURE 54. INTERESTS OF ABC STUDENTS, THEIR FAMILIES AND FRIENDS



PROPORTION OF STUDENTS WHO REPORTED THAT THEIR INTERESTS HAVE CHANGED FROM THEIR FAMILIES' INTERESTS



PROPORTION OF STUDENTS WHO REPORTED THAT THEIR INTERESTS HAVE CHANGED FROM THEIR FRIENDS' INTERESTS

two questions, asking about ABC students' relationship with their friends.

It is interesting to note that even the sophomores who had been in independent schools for only a month often reported that their interests had changed, and that their values were different from those of their friends. Wessman's earlier study of ABC pointed out that in many ways ABC students were different from other people in their community even before they enrolled in the ABC Program. To some extent they were already alienated before they left home. A college senior reflecting on her situation wrote:

> My relationship with my home community has changed only physically -- because I'm no longer there. I do not feel alienated or withdrawn; I was always quiet and mostly in the shadows in my community. When I go home to visit, things are very much the same.

The control group of white independent school students had the same pattern, with seniors reporting greater alienation from home than sophomores. However, it may be argued that ABC students represent a more valuable resource to their home communities than their white classmates represent to their communities. Poverty areas can less afford to lose some of their more talented members. Historically, most members of minority groups who overcame poverty were not required to solve their communities problems as well. They

were considered successful if they, as individuals, attained economic and occupational success. The current generation of people such as ABC students, probably more than any previous group, articulate the desire to help others in their community rather than concentrate on their personal interests. Some of them feel that the ABC experience may be detrimental. A college senior wrote:

> The manner in which ABC is constructed...makes for a situation in which the student is alienated from the very community to which he is intended to add something very positive.

Another college senior said:

> The act of removing black people from their communities in this point in time must be questioned. Academics -- the major focus of ABC -- can be acquired within the Black Community. Putting black youth into such overtly different environments is not necessary and could be detrimental to his non-academic existence.

It may be a cause of concern that while 28% of the tenth graders agreed with the statement "I sometimes feel that I have cut myself off from my community", 49% of the graduating ABC seniors indicated this. (Among white prep school students, comparable figures were 35% and 40% respectively.) This difference between tenth and twelfth grade ABC students may be viewed in several ways. Most ABC students were able to return home rarely during their secondary school years, so it is a fact that they physically separated themselves from their home. As time went on, their awareness of this separa-

tion was heightened and this may have been a healthy development. If they did not feel cut off they might have underestimated the difficulty they would have in re-establishing contact. They might also have had less desire to retain their ties. The statement of many ABC students indicated that they did feel a commitment: "I've got to make up for lost time...and *do* something for my people." A college senior wrote:

> I've got to take my skills back to the community and share myself with the community. Too many blacks didn't and won't get the chance I received, and just because they didn't doesn't mean that they should suffer for it or be any less off for it. One of the worst crimes a black person could commit is to use his skills to develop himself only and just say "fuck it" to the rest of the black people.

An ABC high school senior said:

> Regardless of whatever happens to you in your life, you are always going to have to relate to the black man in your community because you're really out of place here...in a white world... if you stay in that bag that you can get into you'll be out of place in every world because neither world will want you...that's what you've got to avoid.

Another senior wrote:

> Many of my answers may contradict one another but this is the inevitable situation of being in a private school. It certainly contradicts many of my outlooks but it serves as a mirror to reflect all of the contradictions that I live daily, and as I learn and have learned at _____ School to deal with these contradictions in a positive manner, I have grown to develop a more definite role that I feel necessary for a growing young black woman in this situation. I certainly became more aware and I have grown more "into" my own community and its problems since I have been at _____ School.

The statements of these and other ABC students indicate that they had mixed feelings regarding the effect that participating in ABC had on their relationships with their home communities. The quote which began this section points out that a student who grew up in a project in a poverty neighborhood is unlikely to choose to return to precisely the same home. The question "Will they return home?" is often asked, but is imprecise. The simple answer in most cases would be that, similar to the pattern of other graduates of elite educational institutions, few will return and carry on where they left off.

Most ABC students come from economically impoverished families. However, as adults, a substantial proportion of them are likely to be quite affluent. Although this will change their relationship to poverty communities, it will not necessarily alienate them. There certainly is a place for minority group members in the professions to help tackle the problems of poverty. One ABC black senior wrote:

> We as Black People can no longer allow for others to run our institutions. Nor must we continually neglect ours in favor of the others. For institutions are designed to perpetuate themselves. And if Black People are to survive, to grow, and become a potentially great people, we must either have our own institutions with our own leaders or modify others to suit the needs of Blacks. And to do this, we need brothers and sisters who understand the extra-indigenous institutions.

Another senior wrote:

> Upon looking back on my experience as an ABC student, the one thing I would mention is the amount of contact I had with my black culture. I now feel that it was insufficient. Of course it may be that by now there is more of a continuation of some of the blackness that one faces in the community. The private school experience gave me a chance to experience the other side of the fence because I was exposed to whites of the dominant culture more intimately as individuals. My role, carrying over from the ABC Program, is in my opinion to carry on and expose others to what I have learned.

American Indian students were asked to respond to the question "I do not feel that I have any obligation to return home and help my people after I complete my education." Only 6% agreed. Puerto Rican ABC students also expressed a strong desire to be of service to their people.

It is still too early to assess the degree to which ABC students will employ their potential to improve the situation of people from similar backgrounds who have been unable to overcome their poverty. However, an examination of the activities of the oldest graduates of the program, a small group of whom are now in graduate school or working, leads one to conclude that they have not abandoned their concern. Figure 38 is a summary of the programs of those in graduate school and Figure 39 is a listing of the occupations of those who went to work immediately after college. (See page 126 and page 127.)

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

SECTION VIII

ABC PUBLIC SCHOOL PROGRAM

ABC PUBLIC SCHOOL PROGRAM

In 1964 the ABC Program placed its first 59 students in independent schools, and with the help of Federal funding, 178 new students were placed in 1965 and 432 in 1966. Because of the limitations on spaces available to ABC students in independent boarding schools, it became apparent that this type of growth could not continue. There were clearly many thousands of students who would be appropriate candidates for ABC scholarships, but by 1966 it appeared that there was not much more opportunity for expansion within the independent boarding schools.

That year a new portion of the program was established: the ABC Public School Program. In many towns around the country, public high schools seem to have provided the kind of channel for college which independent schools made available. These are towns in which there is considerable concern about education, and from whose high schools a majority of students enter college. In the Dresden School District, the area around Dartmouth College (Hanover, New Hampshire), a number of people had become familiar with the ABC Program because of the ABC Summer Sessions which were held at Dartmouth. These transitional programs, held each year since ABC started, helped to provide a bridge between the students' past experience and their new ABC school. Several residents of Hanover felt that it would be possible to take

advantage of the good college preparation offered at the local high school and still retain the ABC boarding school concept by establishing a dormitory modeled after the private school. The ABC students would reside in this dormitory supervised by a resident family and tutors from Dartmouth College, and attend the local school.

Since the establishment of the first Public School Program in 1966, an additional 26 such programs have been started in communities around the country. The ABC houses have accommodated an average of ten ABC students. By the fall of 1972 a total of 616 students had been enrolled in the public school component of the ABC Program. The Public School Program was administered from an office at Dartmouth College. While it cooperated with the independent school ABC Program, the two organizations had separate boards of directors and were not officially merged until January, 1972.

The merger took place after more than a year had transpired of this two-year research project. For a number of reasons, the study of the Public School Program was not as comprehensive as that of the independent school program.

Since the research had already been planned, the public school programs did not have any input into the organization of the study. Many students who attended independent schools or graduated from them and entered college were interviewed. Their comments were used to plan the study and to

provide explanations for some of the findings. Students in the public school programs were not interviewed.

A much smaller number of students in the Public School Program were scheduled to graduate by June of 1972: 276 as compared to 1,640 in the independent school program. The high school performance of these 276 students was analyzed.

The analysis of students' college entry was based on the reports submitted by the individual public school programs. There was not time to contact the colleges to see if students were actually enrolled where they were expected to be. A study was made of the degree of selectivity of these colleges by using Dailey's Taxonomy. Students' academic performance in college was not studied.

In June of 1972, the black seniors and the white, American Indian, and Puerto Rican Public School ABC students at all grade levels filled out the ABC questionnaire. It was not possible to administer the questionnaire to an entering group of Public School Program students since the school year was half over at the time of the merger.

Comparisons were made between the attitudes of students in the Public School Program, independent school program, and the control group of black students who attended public school at home. (No control group of white classmates of ABC public school students was studied.) The areas considered included

self-esteem, racial awareness, fate control, racial relations, and students' relationship to home.

The ABC public school houses varied in quality, as did the individual independent schools, but this study does not include an analysis of individual programs.

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE DURING SECONDARY SCHOOL

Like the independent school program, the Public School Program enrolled students whose families had low socioeconomic status. (See Appendix B-2) While most of the students who entered the Public School Program had been successful in school previously, on the average, they had not been as strong academically as the independent school students.

Fifty-three per cent had been in the top 10% of their class in their former public school. Eighty-three per cent had been rated excellent or outstanding "as a person" and their average score on standardized tests placed them approximately at the 60th percentile nationally. (There were more "risk" students than in the independent school program: 15% had been in the bottom half of their class in public school, as compared to 5%; 17% rated fair or poor "as a student", as compared to 1%.

How did the ABC students in the public school programs describe their high schools? As with the independent school students, an analysis was made of the responses to the question: "Please indicate how important the following *generally* are for

getting good grades in *most* of your classes?" Figure 55 indicates that the responses of the ABC students in the Public School Program were closer to those of the control group of black students who attended public school at home than to those of ABC students in independent school.

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

Since the class size was similar to that of inner city high schools, can it be said that these schools did offer a better opportunity? There are two reasons why this may have been the case. One is that the classmates of ABC students in public school were more likely to attend selective colleges than students in inner city high schools. The other is that the ABC residence was designed to provide an environment which was much more conducive to study than would have been available to ABC students at home. In fact, ABC students in the Public School Program indicated that they studied approximately as much as those in the private schools, about an hour at night more than the control group who attend public school at home. Thus, the ABC house was an extremely important aspect of the program, with the resident director and tutors providing the kind of personal attention available to students in independent school.

RANK IN CLASS

Overall, ABC students in the Public School Program ranked average in their twelfth grade high school classes.

FIGURE 55. PROPORTION OF STUDENTS WHO INDICATED THAT THE FOLLOWING FACTORS WERE OF SOME IMPORTANCE IN GETTING GOOD GRADES IN MOST OF THEIR CLASSES:

	BLACK ABC SENIORS IN INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS	BLACK SENIORS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS AT HOME	BLACK ABC SENIORS IN PUBLIC SCHOOL PROGRAM
GOOD BEHAVIOR IN CLASS ($P < .001$)	61%	92%	88%
GETTING ALONG WITH THE TEACHER ($.001 < P < .005$)	73%	90%	77%
NEATNESS IN ASSIGNMENTS ($P < .001$)	68%	96%	90%
INTELLIGENCE (N.S.)	94%	96%	96%
HARD WORK (N.S.)	98%	96%	98%
	[N=125]	[N=103]	[N=49]

Nearly all of them were enrolled in the college preparatory sections in their high schools, which tended to be as competitive as most independent schools. Their rank in class was determined by comparing their marks to those of all the students in their grade. Since a substantial proportion of students in the high schools were not college oriented, this tended to boost the relative rank in class of ABC students. Information about twelfth grade rank in class was available for 91 students, and the average rank was the 53rd percentile. Southern students were stronger, graduating, on the average, in the 66th percentile. None of the other background factors was significiant except for students' rank in class before entering the ABC program. Those who had been in the top 10% of their classes graduated, on the average, in the 67th percentile. Those who ranked below the top 10% graduated, on the average, in the 37th percentile of their high school classes.

In summary, the academic performance of ABC students in the public school program was satisfactory. They ranked on the average in the 53rd percentile in their graduating classes, whereas students in the independent school program ranked in the 47th percentile. Thus, both groups were average students in their high schools.

ATTRITION

The attrition rate of students in the Public School Program was remarkably similar to that of students in the inde-

pendent school program. Among the 276 students scheduled to graduate by June 1972, 60, or 22% dropped out of the program, as compared to the independent school rate of 20%. The attrition rates of virtually all of the subgroups of students were close to those in the private school portion of the program. However, because the number of students in the Public School Program was much smaller, many of the differences in attrition rates between subgroups were not statistically significant. In four areas there were significant differences: 1) Parents' marital status; 2) Students' race; 3) Geographical background; and 4) Students' rating "as a person" in school before entering the ABC program. Figure 56 shows that in each case, the rates were very similar to those of ABC students who attended independent school.

In the discussion of independent school attrition, the effects of the attrition rates of the classmates of ABC students were considered a possible explanation for the increase in ABC attrition. The fact that a similar increase took place in the Public School Program provides evidence that this factor was not an important one. It is likely that ABC students in the Public School Program dropped out because of many of the other reasons that were discussed in Section III B. Academic difficulty, culture shock, racial prejudice, increased opportunity for college at home, and a decreasing desire to remain

FIGURE 56. ATTRITION RATES OF ABC STUDENTS IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

	INDEPENDENT SCHOOL PROGRAM ATTRITION	PUBLIC SCHOOL PROGRAM ATTRITION
PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS:		
TOGETHER	17% (737)	15% (101)
NOT TOGETHER	23% (903)	26% (175)
	(.005<P<.01)	(P=.05)
RACE:		
BLACK	16% (1182)	13% (172)
WHITE	34% (188)	39% (26)
PUERTO RICAN	16% (84)	14% (21)
AMERICAN INDIAN	46% (113)	49% (43)
	(P<.001)	(P<.001)
GEOGRAPHICAL REGION:		
NORTHEAST	21% (708)	20% (123)
MIDWEST	22% (284)	41% (17)
NORTHWEST	43% (67)	32% (19)
SOUTHWEST	27% (108)	34% (44)
SOUTH	14% (473)	11% (73)
	(P<.001)	(.005<P<.01)
COUNSELORS' RATINGS OF ABC STUDENTS "AS A PERSON" BEFORE ENTERING ABC SCHOOLS:		
OUTSTANDING OR EXCELLENT	17% (1125)	17% (201)
GOOD, FAIR, OR POOR	37% (197)	36% (45)
	(P<.001)	(P<.001)

in a predominantly white community are all possible explanations.

COLLEGE ENTRANCE

Since virtually all students who attend private college preparatory boarding schools enter college, it is impressive but not surprising that the ABC students in these schools were also likely to enter college. In fact, 99% of the ABC students who graduated from the private schools in the program entered college. Nearly all of the public schools which are affiliated with the ABC Public School Program have a high college entrance rate. However, in each of these high schools, there is also a substantial minority who do not enter college.

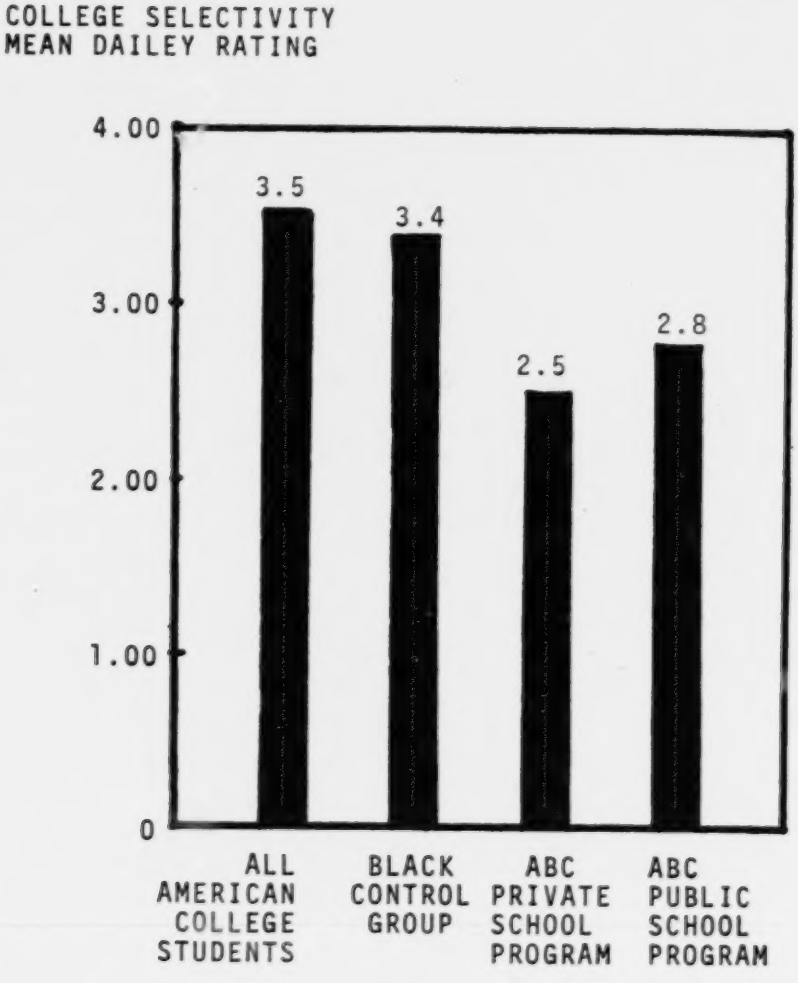
What was the record of ABC students in the Public School Program? In response to the question, "Are you planning to go to college?" 82% responded definitely yes. The other 18% responded probably yes. Information supplied by the individual public school programs indicates that 95% actually did enter college. On the average, these students had College Board scores which were approximately 100 points lower than ABC students attending independent schools (on both the Verbal and Math sections). Their grades and counselors' recommendations in public school before entering the program were also not as strong. It is therefore likely that if both independent school program and Public School Program students had remained at home instead of participating in ABC, a smaller proportion of

the Public School Program students would have attended college.

Did students in the Public School Program attend the type of selective colleges which private school students enter? The mean rating of the colleges attended by Public School Program students, as indicated by Dailey's Taxonomy, indicates that they attended colleges which were less selective than independent school students, but much more selective than the national average. The colleges were also more selective than the ones attended by the students in the control group described in Section III D. Despite the fact that, when they entered ABC, students in the Public School Program had significantly lower test scores and slightly lower grades than the control group (which was matched with students in the independent school program), they entered more selective colleges when they graduated from the program several years later. (See Figure 57)

Information on the academic performance of ABC Public School Program students in college was not obtained. Because the program was started several years later than the independent school program, only three students were scheduled to graduate from college by June 1972. Of these three students, one dropped out of college and was in the armed forces, and the other two did graduate from college (Dartmouth). One of these students enrolled in the medical school of the University of Rochester

FIGURE 57. SELECTIVITY OF COLLEGES ATTENDED BY ABC PUBLIC SCHOOL PROGRAM GRADUATES AND OTHER STUDENTS



and the other was a recipient of a Rhodes Scholarship. It is not appropriate to generalize on the basis of these early returns, but it does seem that the Public School Program can serve as a channel to elite status as the private schools do.

SELF-ESTEEM, RACIAL AWARENESS, AND FATE CONTROL

Like students in the independent school program, the responses to the questionnaire indicated that those in the Public School Program had a high level of self esteem. Although more than half of both groups responded that they were above average in intelligence in comparison with their classmates, students in the Public School Program were significantly more likely than those in the independent school program to report that they were above average.

In fact, the twelfth grade rank in class of ABC Public School Program students was slightly higher than that of the independent school students, and their estimation of their intelligence corresponds fairly closely with their rank in class.

Public School Program students did not feel as popular among their classmates as those attending the independent schools. Although a similar proportion of the two groups of students felt that they were "among the most popular", a significantly higher proportion of public school students reported that they were "among the least popular" -- 23% as compared to 9% among the independent schools.

How satisfied were Public School Program students with their "progress in developing a clear sense of who I am?" It was indicated earlier that black ABC students in independent school were much more likely to be satisfied than their white classmates. Riesman has explained that being a member of a minority group can, under certain circumstances, improve one's ability to develop self-knowledge. ABC students in independent schools, on the average, comprised about 5% of the student body of the school. However, in the Public School Program, they were even a smaller minority, generally approximately one per cent.

Public School Program students reported that the racial climate they encountered was less satisfactory than that described by the independent students. Thus, it may be that to some extent, this type of adversity, within reason, can produce an even greater sense of self awareness. In fact, a significantly higher percentage of public school program students reported that they were satisfied with "developing a clear sense of who I am" -- 84% versus 67% of the independent school students.

Responses to Coleman's fate control question indicated that students in public school programs, like those in the independent school program, had a greater sense of controlling their own destiny than do average American students. Only 6% of both groups of seniors agreed with the statement, "Good luck is more important than hard work for success" and "People like

me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life." A smaller proportion of Public School Program seniors than of the independent school program seniors felt that participating in the ABC program helped them in this area. In response to the question, "I am in a better position to control my future than if I had stayed in public school", 54% of the Public School Program seniors and 77% of the independent school program seniors agreed.

RACIAL RELATIONS

A discussion of Allport's theory on racial relations and of the opinions of ABC independent school students and METCO students appeared in Section VI. The ABC independent school environment seemed to approximate more closely Allport's conditions of equal status contact than the METCO environment. While ABC independent school students did not report utopian racial relations, on balance, they gave a favorable picture. To some extent, this may have been due to the fact that they were generally as successful as their classmates. In addition, they were not as clearly outsiders in their schools since all boarding school students were living away from home.

ABC Public School Program students, like those in the independent school program, were as academically successful as their non-ABC classmates, in contrast to the METCO students. However, there was a basic difference between the independent

school and the Public School Program which appears to have had a substantial effect on racial relations. Public School Program students, like METCO students, tended to be viewed as outsiders. Although they did not commute daily to their high schools, they were clearly not full-fledged residents of the community. In response to the question "Do you feel you are a fully accepted member of the school community?", only 25% of the Public School Program students agreed, as compared to 62% of the independent school program students.*

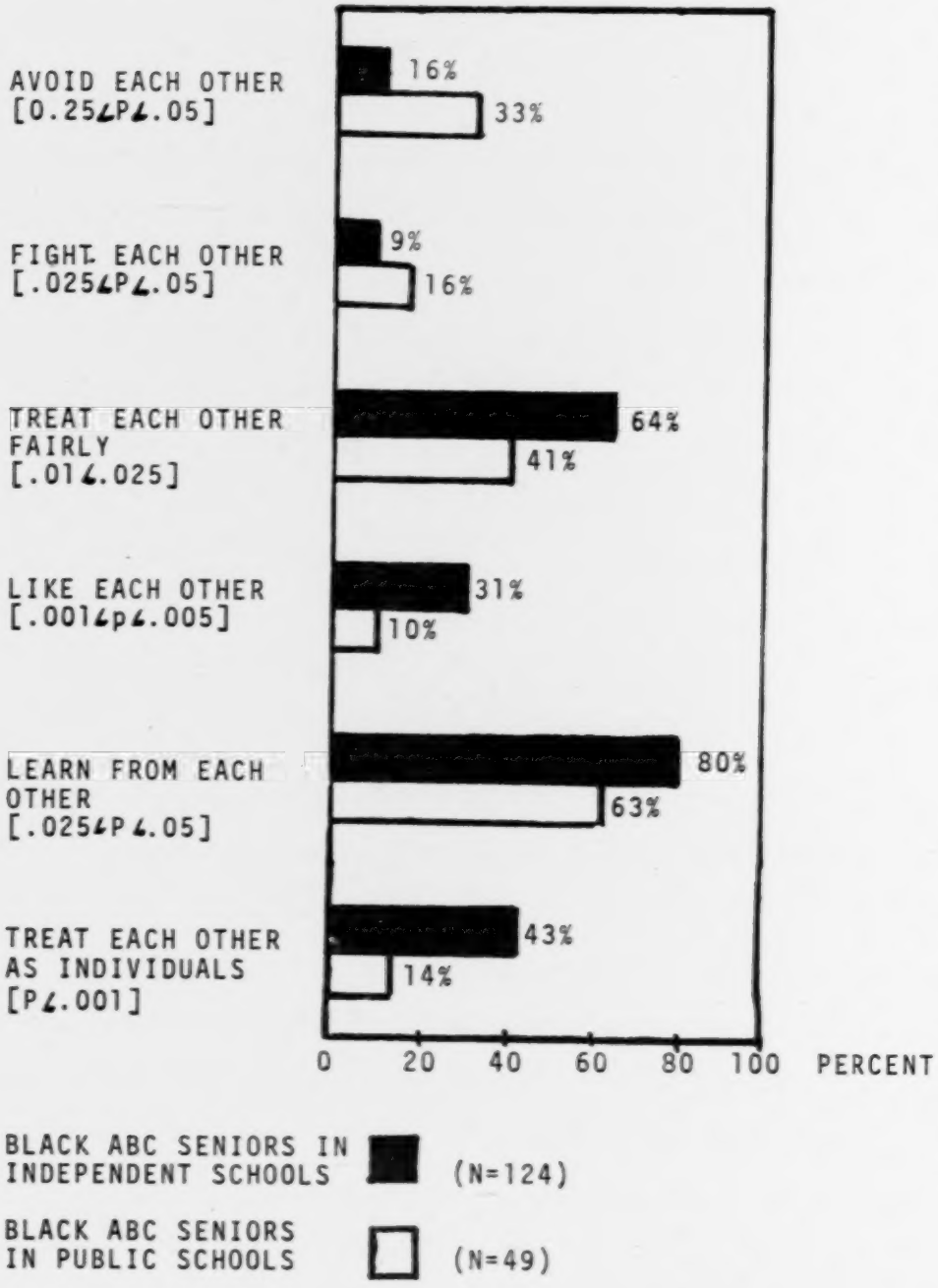
Eleven characterizations of racial relations were listed on the questionnaire. These were described in the section on racial relations in independent schools. In each case, independent school program students gave a more favorable evaluation of racial relations than those in the Public School Program. Six of the differences were statistically significant. Figure 58 shows that Public School Program students were more likely to report that members of the various races "avoid each other" and "fight each other", and less likely to report that they were "fair to each other", "like each other", "learn from each other", or "treat each other as individuals".

Eighty-eight per cent of the public school students, as compared to 62% of the independent school students agreed with

---

*In the independent school, the community is totally within the school; in the Public School Program, the concept of "community" is much broader. This may account for the percentage difference.

FIGURE 58.
DESCRIPTIONS OF INTERRACIAL RELATIONS BY BLACK ABC SENIORS IN INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS.



the statement "During the past year I have personally experienced prejudice." Moreover, as already indicated, a greater proportion of Public School Program students felt they were among the "least popular" students in their classes.

The nature of the interracial contact in the Public School Program was different from that in the independent school program. Although the proportion of students who spent most of their free time with black students was not significantly different, fewer of the Public School Program students had white friends. Fifty-eight percent of the Public School Program students indicated that none of their five best friends were white, as compared to 34% of the independent school students.

Thus, it appears that ABC students at independent schools described race relations more positively than those in the Public School Program. They also had a greater level of interracial contact than students in the Public School Program or METCO. How should this difference be evaluated? While it would be hoped that people of differing backgrounds would have little difficulty in getting along, it is obvious that this is not always the case. The Public School Program was a learning experience for the ABC students, beyond the classroom and homework. These students were learning, many for the first time, about the behavior of people in predominantly white communities. In a sense they were getting a more realistic evaluation of the

racism which exists in society than were the students attending independent school. It is conceivable that this is a better preparation for positions of leadership in that it is based on a more realistic situation than the independent school.

Even though the Public School Program students expressed a greater level of dissatisfaction with racial relations than the independent school students, they also retained the hope that the situation could improve. Like the independent school ABC students, the vast majority agreed with the statement, "Blacks and whites have to learn to get along with one another in school, work, and social life." Eighty per cent of the independent school students and 82% of the Public School Program students agreed. In addition, black ABC students in the Public School Program were more likely to report that they were satisfied with their progress in "developing a clear sense of who I am". Seeing themselves more clearly as outsiders in these communities appears to be related to this development.

It should be stressed that placing teenagers in somewhat hostile communities is not necessarily a healthy activity. ABC students tended to be strong enough to cope with most of the difficulties they encountered; however, some of those who were not sufficiently strong found the experience particularly undesirable, and for them the possible academic benefits and increased self-knowledge did not offset the negative aspects of the experience.

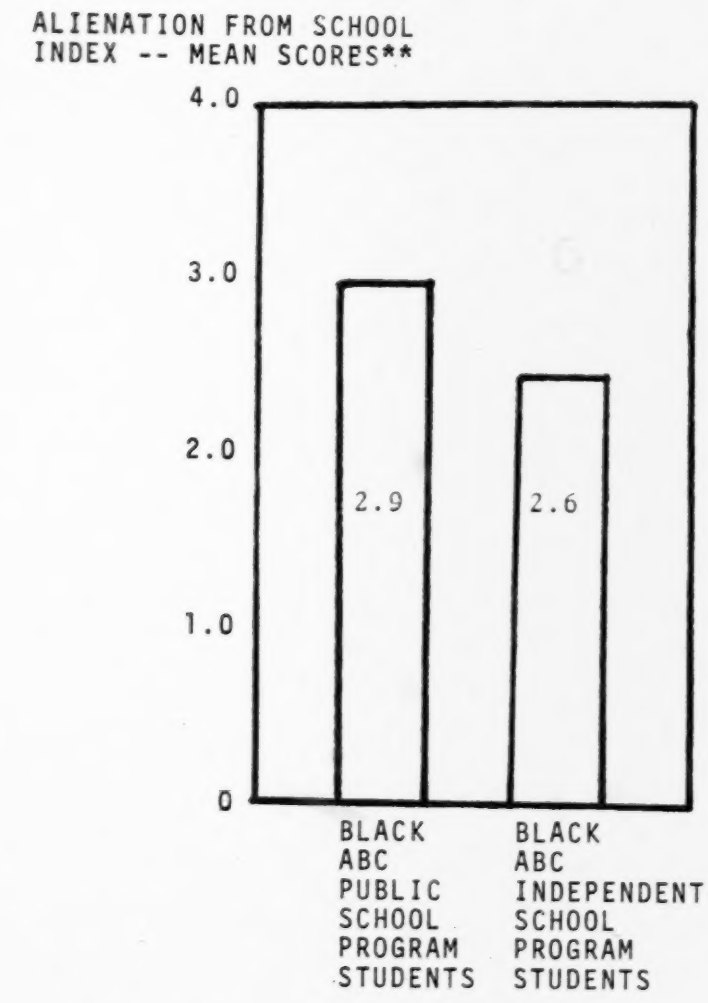
Perhaps the most important aspect of the Public School Program is the residence in which the ABC students live with a resident family. A sensitive resident family is important to a healthy ABC house. The adults can help the students deal with difficulties and turn even problematic experiences into learning situations. Since the success of individual public school programs is more highly dependent upon a single resident couple than is the successful functioning of an independent school, it is clear that their selection is extremely important. The house can offer the security and support needed to cope with some of the attitudes and actions experienced in the town. The students themselves can also give one another needed support.

The previous discussion and Figure59 indicates that Public School Program students were more alienated from their high schools than were the independent school program students. How was their relationship with their home community affected by their participation in the program?

RELATIONSHIP TO HOME

The questionnaire responses indicated that the effect of the program on Public School Program students' relationship to home was virtually the same as for the independent school program students. There was no significant difference between the responses of the two groups on any of the questions regard-

FIGURE 59. ALIENATION FROM SCHOOL OF BLACK TWELFTH GRADE INDEPENDENT SCHOOL AND PUBLIC SCHOOL PROGRAM ABC SENIORS*



(.005<P<.01)

*This index was constructed using questions appearing in Appendix F-3.
**Higher scores indicate greater alienation.

ing their relationship to their home communities. For example, 46% of the independent school students and 45% of the Public School Program students agreed with the statement "Sometimes when I go home, an old friend or member of my family makes fun of the mannerisms I have acquired..." Sixty-seven per cent of the independent school students and 72% of the Public School Program students indicated that "My values are different from those of my friends [at home]". Seventy-six percent of the independent school students and 67% of the Public School Program students reported that "My interests have changed [from those of my friends at home]". Yet, a substantial proportion of ABC students, both independent school program and public school, agreed with the statement "I really miss a black atmosphere [at school]". The responses of ABC seniors in independent school were different from those of the sophomores with a clear trend toward greater alienation among the seniors. The questionnaire was not administered to public school sophomores, but the responses of seniors were very similar to those seniors in the independent school program. Thus, it is probably safe to assume that participating in either component of the ABC program had the effect of bringing about changes in the students. They developed an increased consciousness and pride in being black, Puerto Rican or American Indian, and expressed a greater appreciation for their home community. At the same time, they acquired attitudes and interests which may have made

it more difficult for them to relate comfortably with their peers at home. It may be that even those students who remain in high school at home eventually become somewhat more uncomfortable with former acquaintances who are less successful. In fact, even at the time ABC students entered the program, their attitudes and interests had been quite different from those of their friends. However, it appears likely that a high proportion of them will achieve positions of leadership. Having personally emerged from poverty, they expressed the hope that they will be able to help others do the same.

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

SECTION IX

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

A decade has passed since the establishment of A Better Chance. During that time the mood of Americans concerned with the problems of the poor has undergone considerable change. King, Kennedy, Malcolm, and others lifted the aspirations of those who had never dared to dream of overcoming the results of centuries of oppression, and an effort was made to wage an attack on poverty. After thousands of innovative educational programs, two more presidential administrations, and an exhausting war in Vietnam, the poverty continues, and the optimism has been scaled down. The general mood of the country regarding solutions to the problems of the poor can be characterized as one of considerable cynicism. This is particularly true in considering educational solutions to long-present social problems.

Unlike most compensatory education programs, ABC survived the decade and intervened in the lives of more than 3,000 talented students from poverty families. These students chose to attend college-preparatory, independent boarding schools or special residential Public School Programs, rather than the high schools in their home communities.

From the beginning, ABC hoped to help talented students, who would otherwise be frustrated by poverty, to reach their full potential. The goal of the program was to

have these students attend competitive secondary schools, colleges and graduate schools and attain positions of leadership. Any organization which has worked with a large number of students can point with pride to a few anecdotal success stories and letters of appreciation. However, ABC was affected by the questioning mood of the nation and decided to undertake a more objective evaluation. The evaluation would determine the extent to which ABC had really succeeded in helping students, and the degree to which the program's original expectations were unrealistic.

The research project examined the attitudes of ABC students in the areas of aspirations, fate-control (the degree to which they felt they were guiding their own destiny), self-concept, racial relations, and relationships to home. It also assessed their academic performance during high school and college, and their post-college activities.

ASPIRATIONS, FATE-CONTROL, AND SELF-ESTEEM

During the time they were enrolled in member schools, the attitudes of ABC students underwent some changes. Most recent studies of integration programs have reported that the aspirations of minority group students were unrealistically high, and were scaled downward as a result of participation in these programs. In contrast, aspirations for college, graduate school and professional occupations increased among ABC students.

Their sense of fate-control, which was less than that of their more affluent classmates when they entered the program, increased to a level equal to that of their classmates in twelfth grade. However, the aspirations and sense of fate-control rose similarly for a control group of talented black students in public school. Thus, these changes may be a function of the strength of the students, rather than the impact of the ABC Program.

Two areas in which the attitude changes of ABC students differed from the control group were their self-esteem and racial beliefs. Tenth grade ABC students and controls had a high level of self-esteem as measured by their assessment of their own intelligence and popularity. ABC students experienced success in competitive, predominantly white schools, and unlike the controls, the self-esteem of twelfth grade ABC students, was even higher than that of the entering tenth graders.

RACIAL RELATIONS

ABC twelfth graders had more separatist beliefs than tenth graders. They became more aware of their cultural differences from the majority population than they would have by remaining in a segregated environment. In fact, the control group, having experienced less integration, became more "integrationist" in their attitudes.

There were several reasons for this tendency toward a separatist ideology. One was the developing of more positive feelings about their own backgrounds. Another was the

experiencing of racial prejudice. (44% of the tenth graders and 61% of the twelfth graders reported that "I have personally experienced prejudice during the last year.") In addition, ABC students experienced culture shock in schools whose environments were more comfortable for affluent white students. For example, 38% of the ABC students, as compared to 8% of their non-ABC classmates agreed with the statement, "I can't talk naturally here, the way I could at home." An ABC sophomore wrote, "Being brought up in a different environment, it is hard to adjust to the 'strange ways' the white people act. Some are very stupid, because they ask questions that common sense could answer." An ABC senior wrote, "I'm tired of being under the microscope, explaining things which pertain to my people."

There was a substantial burden on ABC students to integrate their schools and educate the white community there. For example, while 25% of the black ABC students had white roommates, only 2% of the white students had black roommates. Similar differentials existed with regard to interracial friendships and voluntary interracial contact during free time. Schools which for decades had accepted without question lunch room tables populated only by white students, regarded with suspicion the phenomenon of the "black tables." The reaction of whites to ABC students' social preference for students from similar backgrounds, as well as racial pride, culture shock and prejudice, all contributed to an increase in feelings of

separatism among ABC students.

It is easy to overemphasize the more difficult aspects of racial relations. However, ABC independent schools provided a racial environment which tended to be more healthy than the public schools from which ABC students had come. They came closer to meeting the standards for "equal status contact" as defined by Gordon Allport in his book, entitled *Prejudice*. ABC students were asked to characterize interracial relations in their schools, and the most frequent responses given were, "They learn from each other" (80%), "They tolerate each other" (80%), and "They are fair to each other" (64%). The level of voluntary interracial contact was greater among seniors than sophomores, a finding opposite from that of the METCO voluntary bussing program in Greater Boston. The responses given least frequently were "They fight each other" (9%), "They avoid each other" (16%), and "They try to put each other down" (20%).

RELATIONSHIP TO HOME

Since ABC students attended schools away from their home communities, it is important to consider the effect this had on their relationships with people at home. ABC students did seem to develop a sense of being different from their friends and family at home, but many had entered the program with values and interests which were already different. They tended to feel that these differences were generally "not a problem." An ABC

college senior wrote, "My relationship with my home community has changed only physically, because I'm no longer there. I do not feel alienated or withdrawn. I was always quiet and mostly in the shadows in my community. When I go home to visit, now, things are very much the same." In that a substantial proportion of ABC students will have professional occupations, it is obvious that they will not have the same kind of role in their communities which their families have had. ABC students grew up in poverty but will be relatively affluent as adults. Participation in ABC seems to be helping them acquire the skills and credentials appropriate for their roles as professionals. Most of them expressed a strong desire to use these skills to help others escape from poverty.

American Indian students were asked to agree or disagree with the statement, "I do not feel I have any obligation to help people back home after I complete my education." Only 6% agreed. A Puerto Rican student in college said, "I started working in a bi-lingual school in the Puerto Rican section...I started going into things that related to Puerto Ricans...I've got to make up for lost time and do something for my people." A black college senior wrote, "I've got to take my skills back to the community and share myself with the community. There are too many black students that won't get the chance I received, and just because they didn't doesn't mean that they should suffer for it or be any less off for it." While these

are only two selected statements, this study, like others, found that at this time in history, there is little likelihood of minority group students in predominantly white schools being "whitewashed." On the contrary, ABC students tended to develop an increasing sense of being culturally different and a greater appreciation of their own backgrounds.

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE DURING HIGH SCHOOL

1,916 ABC students (1,640 in independent schools and 276 in Public School Programs) were scheduled to complete secondary school by June, 1972. Overall, they competed successfully with their more advantaged classmates. They were approximately evenly distributed in twelfth grade rank in class, and the average ABC student was in the 48th percentile of his graduating class. ABC students had an aggregate attrition rate of 20%, compared to 30% for middle and upper class students in independent schools. However, recently the attrition rate of ABC students increased, so that by 1972 it was approximately equal to that of their classmates. Socially, ABC students adjusted well and were highly rated by their schools. Among the seniors, 58% were rated "outstanding" or "excellent," 40% received average ratings, and only 2% were evaluated as "poor."

Most ABC students entered the program having been very successful in school, and those who had had the strongest school records tended to continue to have the best success in ABC schools. For example, among every 100 ABC students in

independent schools who had been rated "outstanding" or "excellent" as a student by their counselors before entering ABC, 84 graduated from the program, and their median twelfth grade rank in class was the 58th percentile. On the other hand, of 100 students rated "fair" or "poor", only 61 remained until graduation, and their median rank in class was the 23rd percentile. Apparently, ABC schools were not particularly successful in working miracles among students who had not previously experienced success.

When ABC began ten years ago, many educators hoped that intervention programs such as ABC would substantially increase the standardized test scores of students enrolled. However, in the intervening years, much evidence has been gathered indicating that it is extremely difficult to produce changes in students' test scores. Armor has taken a sceptical position, stating that, "To date, there is no published report of *any* strictly educational reform which has been proven substantially to affect academic improvement. School integration programs are no exception." The few reports which have claimed to show test score progress have nearly all been at the pre-school or elementary school level. According to Herrnstein, "At around adolescence, people seem to stop acquiring new intellectual powers, as distinguished from new information or interests. For example, immediate memory span grows until the age of fifteen,

but not thereafter. The average person can repeat seven digits at fifteen or fifty." Overall, during secondary school, the test scores of ABC students were not significantly affected by participation in the program. In fact, ABC students made somewhat less progress than their classmates.

There is one subgroup of ABC students which did make test score progress while enrolled in ABC. It is significant that *highly structured* ABC schools did have a positive impact on test scores of ABC students. One of the most important issues being debated in education today is the level of structure which should prevail in educational programs serving the poor. At highly structured schools, ABC students were able to achieve test score progress equal to that of their more affluent non-ABC classmates. There are few, if any, other documented instances of this degree of test score progress among programs for high school students from poor families.

COLLEGE ATTENDANCE AND POST COLLEGE ACTIVITIES

A primary goal of the ABC Program is to work with students who would not have been able to attend college if they had remained in high school at home. However, this goal was formulated at a time when a much smaller proportion of all American high school graduates entered college than the current rate of 60%. Moreover, when ABC was founded, most selective colleges had minority enrollments of 1% or less, and few were actively recruiting talented minority group members as they are doing today.

A special study was undertaken to determine how well ABC succeeded in achieving this important program goal. A control group of 47 ABC applicants who could not be placed in 1967 due to a funding shortage, remained at home and attended public high schools. They were subsequently closely matched with 47 ABC students who enrolled in member schools. 62% of the control group entered college after attending public high school at home. Thus, the program did not achieve its goal of only working with students who would not have otherwise attended college. However, the college-going rate of ABC students was significantly higher. Ninety-four per cent of the students who entered the ABC Program attended college.

ABC students attended colleges much more selective than the national average, but the control group attended colleges similar in selectivity to the national average. The ten colleges enrolling most ABC students were Harvard, Dartmouth, University of Pennsylvania, Tufts, Carleton, Williams, Yale, Brown, Stanford, and Columbia.

The impact on ABC students in terms of college entrance and selectivity can be quantified if one generalizes on the basis of the results regarding the control group study of 47 pairs of students. Of the 1,916 students scheduled to graduate by June 1972, the program had the net effect of increasing the proportion who entered college by 32%, or 613 students, and increasing the selectivity of the college entered among nearly half the others, an additional 546 students.

The short-term college completion rate among ABC students was approximately at the national average. However, most ABC students attended the more selective colleges, which allow students to return to graduate after a leave of absence. A substantial proportion of ABC students who did not complete college in four years will graduate in several additional years. Ninety-four per cent entered college, and approximately two-thirds of them, or 62%, will graduate from college. Among the control group, 62% entered college, and approximately half, or 31%, will graduate. Of the first group of college graduates, 40% entered graduate school immediately. Most entered prestigious professional schools, such as Duke University Medical School and University of Chicago Graduate School of Business Administration and Columbia Law School. Among those who did not immediately enter graduate school, most went to work in social service areas as probation officers, high school teachers, or community workers. Thus, ABC had the effect of increasing the college-going rate from 62% to 94%, of channeling students into more selective colleges, and probably of doubling the long-term college graduation rate. In the face of the scepticism which has recently been articulated by many studies regarding the impact of educational programs, the ABC results provide conclusive evidence of substantial impact.

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

FOOTNOTES

FOOTNOTES

(1) Printed in *School Life*, Vol. 45 (February 1963), p. 5, 7, 25.

(2) *The New York Times*, February 1, 1972, p. 1.

(3) *The New York Times*, December 25, 1971, p. 30.

(4) David J. Armor, "The Evidence on Busing," *The Public Interest*, No. 28 (Summer 1972), p. 99.

(5) *The New York Times*, December 20, 1963, p. 24.

(6) This College Taxonomy, developed by John T. Dailey, appears in: John C. Flanagan, *et. al*, *Project TALENT - The American High-School Student*, (Pittsburgh, 1964), Table L-2.

(7) Frederick Mosteller, and Daniel P. Moynihan, "A Pathbreaking Report," in Frederick Mosteller and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds., *On Equality of Educational Opportunity*, (New York, 1972), p. 24.

(8) Tetsuo Okada, *et.al.*, "Growth in Achievement for Different Racial, Regional and Socio-Economic Grouping of Students," U.S. Office of Education Mimeo, May 16, 1969, quoted in Mosteller and Moynihan, *op.cit.*, p. 23, Table 2.

(9) *Ibid.*, p. 31.

(10) James S. Coleman, "Equal Schools or Equal Students," *The Public Interest*, No. 4 (Summer 1966), p. 73.

(11) James S. Coleman, *et.al.*, *Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey*, (Washington, 1966), p. 312.

(12) Coleman, *The Public Interest*, *op.cit.*, p. 73-4.

(13) Jesse Burkhead, *Input and Output in Large-City High Schools*, (Syracuse, 1967) p. 88.

(14) David J. Armor, "School and Family Effects on Black and White Achievement: A Reexamination of the USOE Data," in Mosteller and Moynihan, eds.,*op.cit.*, p. 225.

(15) Christopher S. Jencks, "The Coleman Report and the Conventional Wisdom," in Mosteller and Moynihan, eds., *op.cit.*, p. 69.

(16) James S. Coleman, "The Evaluation of the Equality of Educational Opportunity," in Mosteller and Moynihan, eds., *op.cit.*, p. 152.

(17) This individual, Oliver Putnam, former history instructor at Lenox (Massachusetts) School and Northfield-Mount Hermon School, has written several unpublished articles on American Indian students, including, "The American Indian versus Private Education."

(18) Alden Wessman, *Evaluation of Project ABC (A Better Chance)*, (Washington, 1969), p. 250.

(19) *Ibid.*, p. 108.

(20) Jencks, p. 105.

(21) See Junius A. Davis, and George Temp, "Is the S.A.T. biased against black students?" *The College Board Review*, No. 81 (Fall 1971).

(22) S. Oliver Roberts, and Don V. Oppenheim, "The Effects of Special Instruction Upon Test Performance of High School Students in Tennessee," Princeton, N.J., 1966.

(23) Richard Herrnstein, "I.Q.," *The Atlantic Monthly*, (September 1971), p. 48.

(24) Armor, "The Evidence on Busing," p. 99.

(25) Wessman, p. 108.

(26) See Thomas F. Pettigrew, *et.al.*, "Busing: A Review of 'The Evidence'," *The Public Interest*, No. 30 (Winter 1973), p. 94.

(27) Carl Bereiter and Siegfried Engelmann, *Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool*, (Englewood Cliffs, 1966), p. 10-11.

(28) *Ibid.*, p. 11.

(29) William Angoff, "The College Board Admissions Testing Program" (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1971), p. 69.

(30) See N. St. John and M. Smith, "School Racial Composition, Achievement and Aspiration," (Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, 1969); and J. Veroff and S. Peele, "Initial Effects of Desegregation on the Achievement Motivation of Negro Elementary School Children," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Summer 1969), p. 71-91.

(31) Irwin Katz, "The Socialization of Academic Motivation in Minority Group Children," in David Levine, ed., *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, (Lincoln, 1967), p. 133-191.

(32) Armor, "The Evidence on Busing," p. 101.

(33) Coleman, *Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey*, p. 201.

(34) Kenneth A. Martyn, *Increasing Opportunities in Higher Education for Disadvantaged Students*, (Sacramento, 1966), p. 13.

(35) *Ibid.*

(36) John C. Flanagan, *et.al.*, *Project TALENT - Five Years After High School*, (Pittsburgh, 1971), p. 2-2.

(37) Donivan J. Watley, *Black and Nonblack Youth: Characteristics and College Attendance Patterns*, (Evanston, 1971), p. 10.

(38) Francis J. Halstrom, "1970 Upward Bound College Retention Survey," (Washington, 1970), p. 1, and information provided by telephone by Applied Data Research, Inc.

(39) Watley, p. i.

(40) *Ibid.*, p. 44.

(41) Armor, "School and Family Effects on Black and White Achievements," p. 214.

(42) Herbert L. Wasserman, "A comparative study of school performance among boys from broken and intact black families," *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 41 (Spring 1972 No. 2), p. 137-141.

(43) Flanagan, *et.al.*, *Five Years After High School*, p. 2-2.

(44) Derived from Watley, Table 17, p. 31-32.

(45) Flanagan, *et.al.*, *Five Years After High School*, Tables 2-8 and 2-9.

(46) Kenneth B. Clark and Lawrence Plotkin, *The Negro Student at Integrated Colleges*, (New York, 1963), p. 7.

(47) *Ibid.*, p. 24.

(48) Alexander W. Astin, *College Dropouts: A National Profile*, (Washington, February 1972), p. 26, Table 10.

(49) *Ibid.*, p. 13-14.

(50) Clark and Plotkin, p. 50.

(51) Mosteller and Moynihan, p. 26.

(52) David J. Armor and William J. Genova, *METCO Student Attitudes and Aspirations: A Three-Year Evaluation*, (Wellesley Hills, 1970), p. 9.

(53) Alvin Poussaint, and Carolyn Atkinson, "Black Youth and Motivation," *Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Summer 1968), p. 246.

(54) *Ibid.*

(55) Armor and Genova, p. 10.

(56) David Riesman, *Individualism Reconsidered*, (Glencoe, 1954), p. 166.

(57) Poussaint and Atkinson, p. 57.

(58) Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, (Garden City, 1958), p. 254, 255, 267.

(59) Armor and Genova, p. 28, 30.

(60) See Elizabeth Useem, "White Suburban Secondary Students in Schools with Token Desegregation," (Doctoral Dissertation, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University), 1971.

(61) Helen H. Davidson, and Judith W. Greenberg, *Traits of School Achievers from a Deprived Background*, (New York, 1967), p. 147.

(62) Useem.

(63) Armor and Genova, p. 28, 30.

(64) *Ibid.*, p. 6.

(65) *Ibid.*, p. 6.

(66) *Ibid.*, p. 14.

(67) *Ibid.*

(68) *Ibid.*, p. 13.

(69) *Ibid.*, p. 14.

(70) Armor, "The Evidence on Busing," p. 99.

(71) Armor and Genova, p. 20.

(72) *Ibid.*, Appendix A, p. 9.

(73) John O. Killens, *Black Man's Burden*, (New York, 1965), p. 168.

(74) Armor and Genova, p. 7.

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allport, Gordon W., *The Nature of Prejudice*, Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1958.

Angoff, William, ed., *The College Board Admissions Testing Program: A technical report on research and development activities relating to the Scholastic Aptitude Test and Achievement Tests*, New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1971.

Armor, David J., "The Evidence on Busing," *The Public Interest*, No. 28, Summer 1972, p. 90-126.

Armor, David J., and Genova, William J., *METCO Student Attitudes and Aspirations: A Three-Year Evaluation*, Wellesley Hills: TDR Associates, Inc., 1970.

Astin, Alexander W., *College Dropouts: A National Profile*, Washington: American Council on Education, 1972.

Bereiter, Carl, and Engelmann, Siegfried, *Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966.

Burkhead, Jesse, *Input and Output in Large-City High Schools*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1967.

Clark, Kenneth B., and Plotkin, Lawrence, *The Negro Student at Integrated Colleges*, New York: National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, 1963.

Coleman, James S., "Equal Schools or Equal Students," *The Public Interest*, No. 4, Summer 1966, p. 70-76.

Coleman, James, *et.al.*, *Equality of Educational Opportunity Survey*, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

Davidson, Helen H., and Greenberg, Judith W., *Traits of School Achievers from a Deprived Background*, New York: City College, 1967.

Flanagan, John C., *et.al.*, *Project TALENT - The American High-School Student*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1964.

Flanagan, John C., *et.al., Project TALENT - Five Years After High School,* Pittsburgh: American Institutes for Research and University of Pittsburgh, 1971.

Halstrom, Francis J., "1970 Upward Bound College Retention Survey," Washington, 1970.

Herrnstein, Richard, "I.Q.," *The Atlantic Monthly,* September 1971, p. 43-58.

Katz, Irwin, "The Socialization of Academic Motivation in Minority Group Children," in David Levine, ed., *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation,* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967, p. 133-191.

Kennedy, John F., quoted in *School Life,* Vol. 45, February 1963, p. 5-7+.

Killens, John O., *Black Man's Burden,* New York: Pocket Books, 1965.

Martyn, Kenneth A., *Increasing Opportunities in Higher Education for Disadvantaged Students,* Sacramento: Coordinating Council for Higher Education, 1966.

Mosteller, Frederick, and Moynihan, Daniel P., eds., *On Equality of Educational Opportunity,* New York: Vantage Books, 1972.

The following articles were cited:

Armor, David J., "School and Family Effects on Black and White Achievement: A Reexamination of the USOE Data," p. 168-229.

Coleman, James S., "The Evaluation of *Equality of Educational Opportunity,*" p. 146-167.

Jencks, Christopher S., "The Coleman Report and the Conventional Wisdom," p. 69-115.

Mosteller, Frederick and Moynihan, Daniel P., "A Pathbreaking Report," p. 3-68.

The New York Times, December 20, 1963, p. 24; December 25, 1971, p. 30; February 1, 1972, p. 1.

Pettigrew, Thomas F., *et.al.*, "Busing: A Review of 'The Evidence'," *The Public Interest*, No. 30, Winter 1973, p. 88-118.

Poussaint, Alvin, and Atkinson, Carolyn, "Negro Youth and Psychological Motivation," *Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 37(3), Summer 1968, p. 241-252.

Riesman, David, *Individualism Reconsidered*, Glencoe: Free Press, 1954.

Roberts, S. Oliver, and Oppenheim, Don V., "The Effect of Special Instruction Upon Test Performance of High School Students in Tennessee, *Research Bulletin* RB-66-36, Princeton: Educational Testing Service, 1966.

Useem, Elizabeth, "White Suburban Secondary Students in Schools with Token Desegregation," Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, 1971.

Wasserman, Herbert L., "A comparative study of school performance among boys from broken and intact black families," *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 41, Spring 1972, No. 2, p. 137-141.

Watley, Donivan J., "Black and Nonblack Youth: Characteristics and College Attendance Patterns," *NMSC Research Report*, Vol. 7, No. 4, Evanston: National Merit Scholarship Corporation, 1971.

Wessman, Alden, *Evaluation of Project ABC (A Better Chance)*, Washington: Office of Education Bureau of Research, 1969.

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC SCHOOL PROGRAMS
WITH ABC STUDENTS SCHEDULED TO GRADUATE BY JUNE, 1972*

Abbot Academy
Altadena, Cal.**
Amherst, Mass.**
Andover, Mass.**
Appleton, Wis.**
Athenian School
Avon Old Farms
Baldwin School
Barlow School
Berkshire School
Birch Wathen School
Blair Academy
Boggs Academy
Brooks School
Buxton School
Cambridge School of Weston
Canterbury
Carmel, Cal.**
Cate School
Cheshire Academy
Choate School
Claremont, N.H.**
Collegiate School
Colorado Academy
Colorado Rocky Mountain School
Commonwealth School
Concord Academy
Concord, N.H.**
Cornwall Academy
Cranbrook School
Cranwell School
Culver Military Academy
Cushing Academy
Dana Hall School
Darrow School
Deerfield Academy
Deveaux School
Dover, N.H.**
Emma Willard School
Ethel Walker School
Fountain Valley School
George School
Gould Academy
Governor Dummer Academy
Groton School
The Gunnery
Hackley School
Miss Hall's School
Hamilton-Wenham, Mass.**
Hanover, N.H.**
Hartford, Vt.**
Hebron Academy
Hill School
Hinckley School
Holderness School
Hotchkiss School
Hun School
Kent School for Boys
Kent School for Girls
Kimball Union Academy
Kiski School
Lake Forest Academy
Lawrence Academy
Lawrenceville School
Lebanon, N.H.**
Lenox School
Loomis School
Macduffie School for Girls
Madison, Conn.**
Masters School
Maumee Valley Country Day School
McDonogh School
Mercersburg Academy
Middlesex School
Millbrook School
Milton Academy
Milton Academy Girls School
Mountain School
New Hampton School
Noble & Greenough School

---

*These were the students whose academic performance was studied by the research project.
**These represent Public School Programs.

North Andover, Mass.**
Northfield-Mount Hermon Schools
Northfield, Minn. **
Oakwood School
Peddie School
Phillips Academy
Phillips Exeter Academy
Pomfret School
Miss Porter's School
Portsmouth Abbey School
Putney School
Riverdale Country Day School
Robert Louis Stevenson School
Rockpoint School
St. Andrew's School
St. George's School
St. John's Prep School
St. Johnsbury Academy
St. Mark's School
St. Mary's School
St. Paul's School
Shattuck School
Shipley School
Shorewood, Wis.**
Solebury School
South Kent School
Sterling School
Stony Brook School
Storm King School
Suffield Academy
Tabor Academy
Taft School
Thompson Academy
Tilton School
Verde Valley School
Vermont Academy
Walnut Hill School
Waynflete School
Western Reserve Academy
Westminster School
Westover School
Westtown School
Whiteman School
White Mountain School
Wilbraham & Monson Academy
Windsor Mountain Academy
Williamstown, Mass. **
Woodstock Country School
Woodstock, Vt.**
Wooster School
Worcester Academy
Wyoming Seminary

APPENDIX B-1

NUMBER OF ABC STUDENTS - BY YEAR OF ENTRY

1964	59
1965	178
1966	432
1967	228
1968	314
1969	408
1970	422
1971	531
1972	623
TOTAL	3195*

*1916 of these 3195 students were scheduled to graduate by June, 1972, and their academic performance was studied.

APPENDIX B-2

DISTRIBUTION OF ABC STUDENTS BY RACE, SEX, GEOGRAPHY, AND SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND*

	INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS		PUBLIC SCHOOL PROGRAM	
RACE:				
Black	72%	(1183)	62%	(172)
White	12%	(188)	9%	(26)
Puerto Rican	5%	(84)	8%	(21)
American Indian	7%	(112)	16%	(43)
Other	4%	(73)	5%	(14)
SEX:				
Male	76%	(1251)	84%	(231)
Female	24%	(389)	16%	(45)
GEOGRAPHY:				
Northeast	43%	(709)	45%	(123)
Midwest	17%	(284)	6%	(17)
Northwest	4%	(67)	7%	(19)
Southwest	7%	(107)	16%	(44)
South	29%	(473)	26%	(73)
FATHER'S EDUCATION (YEARS OF SCHOOL):				
0-8 Years	40%	(525)	50%	(99)
9-11 Years	24%	(309)	27%	(55)
12 Years	26%	(333)	16%	(31)
13 Years +	10%	(129)	7%	(15)
MOTHER'S EDUCATION (YEARS OF SCHOOL):				
0-8 Years	29%	(423)	36%	(83)
9-11 Years	25%	(368)	26%	(60)
12 Years	35%	(510)	32%	(74)
13 Years +	11%	(151)	6%	(15)

---

*The 1640 independent school and 276 Public School Program students whose academic performance was studied.

PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS:	INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS	PUBLIC SCHOOL PROGRAM
Together	45% (737)	37% (101)
Not Together	55% (903)	63% (175)
PARENTS' SOURCE OF INCOME:		
Welfare	21% (349)	28% (77)
Welfare and Job	7% (107)	7% (20)
Job Only	66% (1079)	53% (145)
Other	6% (105)	12% (34)

APPENDIX C-1

Colleges Attended by ABC Students
1965 - 1972

Harvard	54
Dartmouth	51
University of Pennsylvania	40
Tufts	36
Carleton	32
Williams	28
Yale	26
Brown	24
Stanford	22
Columbia	21
Wesleyan (Ct.)	21
Oberlin	20
Northeastern	19
Cornell	17
Trinity (Ct.)	16
Amherst	15
Northwestern	15
Antioch	14
Duke	14
Case-Western Reserve	13
Howard	12
New York University	12
Princeton	12
Fordham	11
Radcliffe	11
Hamilton	10
Lincoln (Pa.)	10
University of Massachusetts	10
Syracuse	10
Boston University	9
Vassar	9
Dickinson	8
Lawrence	8
University of Michigan	8
Ohio Wesleyan	8
Barnard	7
Brandeis	7
University of Connecticut	7
Pomona	7
Simmons	7
Swarthmore	7
Wayne State University	7
Bowdoin	6
Clark University	6
Hobart	6

Macalester	6
University of New Hampshire	6
University of Vermont	6
Hampshire	5
Hampton	5
Lake Forest	5
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	5
University of Rochester	5
Rutger	5
St. Olaf's	5
Union	5
Wagner	5
Washington University (Mo.)	5
Alfred	4
Connecticut College	4
Keene State	4
Pennsylvania State	4
Rensselaer	4
Sarah Lawrence	4
Tulane	4
Vanderbilt	4
Wooster	4
American International	3
Beloit	3
Boston College	3
Bradley	3
Bucknell	3
University of Chicago	3
Colby	3
University of Colorado	3
University of Denver	3
University of Detroit	3
Earlham	3
Emory	3
Franklin and Marshall	3
University of Illinois	3
Kenyon	3
Lafayette	3
Marquette	3
Middlebury	3
Mt. Holyoke	3
New England	3
University of North Carolina	3
University of Pittsburgh	3
St. Lawrence	3
Springfield	3
Temple	3
Wellesley	3
Worcester Polytech	3

Students in colleges enrolling 3 or more ABC students...	898
Students in colleges enrolling 1 or 2 ABC students	263
Additional ABC students who entered college*.....	336
TOTAL	1497

---

*A random sample of previously "missing" ABC students was studied to discover whether or not they were in college. By projecting on the basis of this study it was determined that 336 of the ABC students who were not located entered college.

APPENDIX C-2

COLLEGE MAJORS OF ABC STUDENTS

AS OF JUNE 1972*

Sciences-25%	(71)
Archaeology	1
Biology	14
Chemistry	6
Ecology	4
Engineering	21
Mathematics	10
Nursing	1
Physics	7
Premedical	3
Science	4
Social Sciences-42%	(117)
Afro-American Studies	4
Anthropology	3
Economics	15
Geography	3
Political Science	42
Psychology	28
Sociology	18
Urban Affairs	4
Humanities-19%	(52)
English	21
Foreign Languages	7
History	16
Philosophy	4
Religion	4
Creative Arts-6%	(18)
Architecture	2
Art	3
Fine Arts	6
Music	1
Photography	1
Speech and Drama	5
Education-5%	(13)
Elementary Education	11
Occupational Therapy	1
Physical Education	1
Business-3%	(9)

*Information was obtained for 280 ABC students.

APPENDIX D

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE IN SECONDARY SCHOOL AND COLLEGE:

PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

	ABC Attrition	ABC Rank In Class Grade 12	College Selectivity	College Grades	College Attrition
Public School Rank in Class (Before ABC)	.17****	.15****	.10***	.13*	.03 N.S.
Public School Student Rating (Before ABC)	.16****	.20****	.18****	.12*	.03 N.S.
Public School Personal Rating (Before ABC)	.16****	.09***	.06*	.18***	.06*
SSAT - Reading	.03 N.S.	.07*	.15****	.08 N.S.	.02 N.S.
SSAT- Verbal	.03 N.S.	.03 N.S.	.17****	.11 N.S.	-.02 N.S.
SSAT - Quantitative	.04 N.S.	.11****	.28****	.07 N.S.	-.01 N.S.
GSAT	.07*	.08**	.27****	.09 N.S.	-.02 N.S.
ABC Rank in Class Grade 12	--	--	.29****	.18***	.09***
SAT -Verbal Grade 12	--	--	.33****	.12 N.S.	.01 N.S.
SAT -Math Grade 12	--	--	.35****	.07 N.S.	.04 N.S.

* $.025 < p < .05$
** $.01 < p < .025$
*** $.005 < p < .01$
**** $p < .001$

APPENDIX E-1

COMPARISON OF ABC STUDENTS AND CONTROL GROUP STUDENTS IN THE ATTITUDE STUDY

ABC resource people in twelve communities (Baltimore, Md.; Clarksdale, Ms.; Columbus, Oh.; Darien, Ga.; Detroit, Mi.; Jersey City, NJ; Nashville, Tn.; New York, NY; Oakland, Ca.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Richmond, Va.; and Trenton, NJ) were asked to select students in grades ten and twelve who were from poor communities and who were successful in school. ABC students and controls filling out the questionnaires provided the following information about their parents' education and fathers' occupations:

GRADE TEN

YEARS OF SCHOOL	MOTHER'S EDUCATION		FATHER'S EDUCATION	
	ABC STUDENTS	CONTROLS	ABC STUDENTS	CONTROLS
0-8	11% (15)	10% (13)	17% (23)	14% (19)
9-11	29% (38)	24% (32)	17% (22)	19% (26)
12	32% (43)	28% (38)	24% (32)	26% (35)
13-15	13% (17)	12% (17)	13% (17)	11% (15)
16+	7% (9)	16% (22)	4% (6)	14% (18)
Unsure	8% (11)	10% (13)	25% (33)	16% (21)
	(N.S.)		(N.S.)	

GRADE TWELVE

YEARS OF SCHOOL	MOTHER'S EDUCATION		FATHER'S EDUCATION	
	ABC STUDENTS	CONTROLS	ABC STUDENTS	CONTROLS
0-8	11% (14)	15% (16)	24% (30)	22% (23)
9-11	28% (35)	30% (31)	31% (38)	30% (31)
12	40% (50)	36% (37)	20% (25)	19% (20)
13-15	15% (18)	9% (9)	9% (11)	8% (8)
16+	3% (4)	7% (7)	4% (5)	7% (7)
Unsure	3% (4)	3% (3)	12% (15)	14% (14)
	(N.S.)		(N.S.)	

There was no significant difference between the educational level of the parents of ABC students and controls in grades ten or twelve.

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	GRADE TEN		GRADE TWELVE	
	ABC STUDENTS	CONTROLS	ABC STUDENTS	CONTROLS
Professional or Managerial	5% (7)	19% (25)	7% (9)	11% (11)
Technical	3% (4)	0% --	2% (2)	0% --
Clerical or or Sales	2% (2)	4% (5)	5% (2)	2% (2)
Workman, Craftsman, Service, or Operative	55% (71)	56% (73)	58% (71)	53% (52)
Other, or None	35% (45)	21% (28)	28% (35)	34% (33)
	($P < .001$)		(N.S.)	

The father's occupational status of tenth grade control group students was higher than that of tenth grade ABC students. Among twelfth graders, there was no significant difference in father's occupational status between ABC students and controls.

SEX	GRADE TEN		GRADE TWELVE	
	ABC STUDENTS	CONTROLS	ABC STUDENTS	CONTROLS
Male	64% (86)	66% (90)	74% (93)	73% (75)
Female	36% (49)	34% (47)	26% (32)	27% (28)
	(N.S.)		(N.S.)	

There was no significant difference in the proportion of males and females among ABC students and the controls.

APPENDIX E-2

COMPARISON OF ABC STUDENTS AND COLLEGE ATTENDANCE STUDY CONTROL GROUP

In 1967, a large number of applicants to ABC could not be placed due to a cutback in Federal funds. In 1970, fifty of the unplaced black males were matched with fifty black males who had received ABC scholarships, and their college-going rates were compared. They were matched on the basis of their SSAT scores, public school grades at the time they applied for an ABC scholarship, family structure, and parents' education. Forty-seven pairs were located, and the following is a summary of the characteristics on the basis of which they were matched:

	ABC	Controls	Significance
Public School Rank in Class	2.85	2.93	N.S.
Public School Grade Point Average	86.40	84.90	N.S.
Parents' Marital Status	1.51	1.49	N.S.
Mother's Education (mean years of school)	10.44	10.64	N.S.
Father's Education (mean years of school)	9.54	10.36	$.025 < p < .05$
SSAT Reading Raw Score (mean)	282.20	278.00	N.S.
GSAT	287.00	285.90	N.S.

APPENDIX E-3

COMPARISON OF ABC STUDENTS AND COLLEGE GRADE STUDY CONTROL GROUP

At three colleges enrolling a sizeable number of ABC graduates, ABC students were matched with students having similar socioeconomic background and test scores who had attended public high schools at home. During the 1971-72 school year, the college grades of ABC students were compared with those of the controls. The following is a summary of the factors at each college on which students were matched.

College #1 (N=31)	ABC	Controls	Significance
Family Income (mean)	$6851	$9095	.025<p<.05
Race (All pairs contained only students of same race)			N.S.
Father's Education (mean)	4.81	4.81	N.S.
Parents' Marital Status	1.68	1.68	N.S.
SAT Verbal	594	596	N.S.
SAT Math	592	582	N.S.

College #2 (N=19)	ABC	Controls	Significance
Race (All pairs included only students of same race)			N.S.
Mother's Education	2.06	2.06	N.S.
Father's Education	1.75	1.63	N.S.
Marital Status	1.42	1.42	N.S.
SAT Verbal	518	524	N.S.
SAT Math	567	541	.01<p<.025

College #3 (N=15)	ABC	Controls	Significance
Race (all pairs included only students of same race.)			N.S.
Parents' Marital Status (all pairs included only students whose parents had same marital status)			N.S.
SAT Verbal plus Math	976	965	N.S.

APPENDIX F-1

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
					1					

ABC Attitude Questionnaire
(Black Student Version)

The ABC Program places talented students in private boarding school with scholarships.

We are conducting a research project to evaluate ABC and are interested in comparing the opinions of ABC students with a random sample of other independent school students, and with a group of students attending public school.

We appreciate your help, and you will receive $3.00 for your time and effort when you complete this questionnaire.

There are, of course, no right or wrong answers to the questions, and there is no time limit.

Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.

MOST QUESTIONS CAN BE ANSWERED BY CIRCLING ONLY ONE NUMBER NEXT TO THE RESPONSE WHICH COMES CLOSEST TO YOUR OPINION OR SITUATION.

Example: (1.) Yes 2. No

Please write your name, school and home town below, and then go on to the questions on the following pages. Thank you.

Name _____

Home Town _____

School _____

How long have you attended this school?

1. 1 year or less
2. 2 years
3. 3 years
4. 4 years
5. More than 4 years

1. Which one of the following best describes the program you are enrolled in?

[12]
1. College preparatory -- honors or advanced placement
2. College preparatory -- no honors or advanced placement
3. Commercial or business
4. General
5. Vocational

2. On an average school day, how much time do you spend studying outside of school?

[13]
1. None or almost none
2. About 1/2 hour a day
3. About one hour a day
4. About 1-1/2 hours a day
5. About 2 hours a day
6. About 3 hours a day
7. 4 or more hours a day

3. Overall, would you say that the students in your school work more than you, less than you, or about the same as you in their school subjects?

[14]
1. More
2. Less
3. About the same
4. Not sure

4. What is your grade average so far this year?

[15]
1. Mostly A's
2. Mostly A's & B's
3. Mostly B's
4. Mostly B's & C's
5. Mostly C's
6. Mostly C's & D's
7. Mostly D's
8. Mostly D's & E's

5. Please indicate how important the following <u>generally</u> are for getting good grades in <u>most</u> of your classes?

		Unimportant	Of Some Importance	Very Important	Don't Know
[16]	a. Hard Work	1	2	3	4
[17]	b. Good Behavior In Class	1	2	3	4
[18]	c. Intelligence	1	2	3	4
[19]	d. Talking a Lot in Discussions	1	2	3	4
[20]	e. Creativity, Originality	1	2	3	4
[21]	f. Getting Along With the Teacher	1	2	3	4
[22]	g. Neatness in Assignments	1	2	3	4
[23]	h. Ability to Write Fast on Exams	1	2	3	4
[24]	i. Factual Knowledge of Subject Matter	1	2	3	4

6. How do you feel about the strictness of your school in the following areas?

		Too Strict	About Right	Not Strict Enough
[25]	a. Hair regulations	1	2	3
[26]	b. Dress regulations	1	2	3
[27]	c. Smoking	1	2	3
[28]	d. Classroom behavior	1	2	3
[29]	e. Tardiness	1	2	3
[30]	f. Cheating	1	2	3
[31]	g. Control of student publications	1	2	3
[32]	h. Use of alcohol	1	2	3
[33]	i. Use of illegal drugs	1	2	3
[34]	j. Freedom to leave school during free periods	1	2	3
[35]	k. Disobedience, insubordination	1	2	3
[36]	l. Attendance at classes	1	2	3
[37]	m. Attendance at athletics	1	2	3
[38]	n. Attendance at assemblies	1	2	3
[39]	o. Freedom to organize meetings or clubs	1	2	3

7. Have you been active in any of the following school activities during the past school year? Have you ever held an office?

		Active, but not office holder	Office Holder	Not Active
[40]	a. Athletic teams	1	2	3
[41]	b. Cheerleaders	1	2	3
[42]	c. Hobby clubs (chess, photography, woodworking, etc.)	1	2	3
[43]	d. Academic clubs (language, math)	1	2	3
[44]	e. Service clubs	1	2	3
[45]	f. Vocation clubs (future nurses, teachers, etc.)	1	2	3
[46]	g. Band or orchestra	1	2	3
[47]	h. Debate	1	2	3
[48]	i. Dramatics	1	2	3
[49]	j. Audio-visual	1	2	3
[50]	k. Choral groups	1	2	3
[51]	l. Art and dance clubs	1	2	3
[52]	m. Publications (newspaper, journal, year book, literary magazines)	1	2	3
[53]	n. Student government	1	2	3
[54]	o. Honor societies	1	2	3
[55]	p. Afro society	1	2	3
[56]	q. Other political or social action clubs	1	2	3
[57]	r. Other (Specify: _____)	1	2	3

8. How active would you say you are in school social activities in comparison with all the other students in your grade?

[58]
1. More active than most
2. About average
3. Less active than most

9. Do black students get special treatment from most of the teachers?

[59]
1. Yes, black students are <u>usually</u> treated <u>better</u> than white students
2. Yes, black students are <u>usually</u> treated <u>worse</u> than white students
3. No

10. Whom in school do you usually talk to about personal problems?

[60]
1. A friend
2. Teacher
3. Counselor
4. Administrator
5. Other (Specify: _____)
6. No one

11. How many of your teachers this year seem to care about how well you do in school?

[61]
1. None
2. One
3. Two
4. Three
5. Four
6. Five or more

12. If we could assume all schools are equally good, would you ideally prefer going to school in a private boarding school or in your own community?

[62]
1. In private boarding school
2. In own community
3. Not sure

13. Do you feel that you are a fully accepted member of the school community?

[63]
1. Yes
2. No

14. Do you think your school has helped or hindered your progress in each of the following areas?

		Helped My Progress	Neither Hindered Nor Helped	Hindered My Progress
[64]	a. Knowing about jobs and work after graduation	1	2	3
[65]	b. Becoming politically aware	1	2	3
[66]	c. Developing skills useful for many kinds of jobs	1	2	3
[67]	d. Improving my self-confidence	1	2	3
[68]	e. Helping me appreciate art, music, & other artistic work	1	2	3
[69]	f. Becoming psychologically independent of my parents	1	2	3
[70]	g. Preparing for marriage and children	1	2	3
[71]	h. Being independent of the opinions of other students	1	2	3
[72]	i. Improving my sense of responsibility	1	2	3
[73]	j. Improving my ability to think & reason	1	2	3
[74]	k. Increasing my desire to learn	1	2	3
[75]	l. Understanding people who differ from me in racial or ethnic background	1	2	3
[76]	m. Learning how to make better ethical or moral decisions	1	2	3
[77]	n. Developing my ability to follow through with a project, interest, or task	1	2	3

1	2	3	4	5	6
					2

15. Are you planning to go to college?

1. Definitely yes
2. Probably yes
[07] 3. Probably no
4. Definitely no

16. How far do you want to go in school?

1. I would like to stop before finishing high school
2. Finish high school only
3. Technical, nursing, or business school after high school
[08] 4. Some college, but less than four years
5. Graduation from a 4-year college
6. Professional or graduate work after college
7. Not sure

17. Which of these types of jobs comes closest to the kind you expect to have after finishing your education?

01. Professional (teacher, engineer, dentist, lawyer, professor, scientist, doctor, etc.)
02. Technical (laboratory technician, photographer, draftsman...)
03. Workman (farmworker, fisherman, gardener, laborer, longshoreman, etc.)
04. Clerical (secretary, bank teller, bookkeeper, office worker...)
05. Managerial or official (pilot, train conductor, armed services officer, store owner, government official, business
[09,10] executive, farm owner, plant manager, etc.)
06. Craftsman (carpenter, electrician, plumber, mechanic, etc.)
07. Service (fireman, policeman, armed services enlisted man, barber, cook, hospital attendant, waiter, hairdresser, etc.)
08. Operative (machine operator, bus driver, factory worker, delivery man, postman, etc.)
09. Sales (salesman, agent, broker, advertising representative...)
10. Other (Specify: _____)
11. Don't know

18. How bright do you think you are in comparison with all the other students in your grade?

1. Among the brightest
[11] 2. Above average
3. Average
4. Below average
5. Among the lowest

19. How popular do you think you are with the black students in your school?

1. Among the more popular
[12] 2. About average
3. Among the less popular

20. How popular do you think you are in school this year in comparison with all the other students in your grade?

1. Among the more popular
[13] 2. About average
3. Among the less popular

21. How satisfied are you with your personal development in the following areas?

		Mostly Satisfied	Mixed	Mostly Dissatisfied
[14]	1. Ability to relate to the opposite sex	1	2	3
[15]	2. Ability to handle tension	1	2	3
[16]	3. Physical appearance	1	2	3
[17]	4. Ability to deal with my emotions	1	2	3
[18]	5. Ability to remain happy most of the time	1	2	3
[19]	6. Ability to keep going when feelings are hurt	1	2	3
[20]	7. Self-reliance	1	2	3
[21]	8. Ability to stick to a task	1	2	3
[22]	9. Knowing my own abilities	1	2	3
[23]	10. Ability to get along with members of my own sex	1	2	3
[24]	11. Developing a clear sense of who I am	1	2	3

22. What is your sex?

1. Male
[25] 2. Female

23. What is your racial or ethnic background?

1. Black
2. White
3. Mexican American
[26] 4. Oriental
5. American Indian
6. Puerto Rican
7. Other (Specify: _____)

24. What was your age at your last birthday?

[27]
1. Under 15
2. 15
3. 16
4. 17
5. 18
6. 19 or over

25. What is your present grade?

[28]
1. 9th
2. 10th
3. 11th
4. 12th

26. Indicate the highest educational level attained by your mother.

[29]
1. None, or some grade school
2. Completed grade school
3. Some high school, but did not graduate
4. Graduated from high school
5. Technical or business school after high school (or nursing)
6. Some college but less than 4 years
7. Graduated from a 4 year college
8. Attended a graduate or professional school
9. Don't know

27. Indicate the highest educational level attained by your father.

[30]
1. None, or some grade school
2. Completed grade school
3. Some high school, but did not graduate
4. Graduated from high school
5. Technical or business school after high school
6. Some college but less than 4 years
7. Graduated from a 4 year college
8. Attended a graduate or professional school
9. Don't know

28. Which of the following best describes who lives with you in your house? (Father means either father or step father and mother means either mother or step mother)

[31,32]
01. My father and mother
02. My mother
03. My father, mother, and brothers and sisters
04. My mother and brothers or sisters
05. My father, mother, and other relatives
06. My mother and other relatives
07. My father
08. Foster family
09. Legal guardians
10. Other (Specify: _____)

29. Which of the following best describes the kind of work your father does? (Father means either father or step father)

1. Professional (teacher, engineer, dentist, lawyer, doctor, professor, scientist, clergyman, etc.)
2. Technical (lab technician, photographer, draftsman, etc.)
3. Workman (farmworker, fisherman, gardener, laborer, longshoreman, etc.)
4. Clerical (secretary, bank teller, bookkeeper, office worker)
5. Managerial or official (pilot, train conductor, armed services officer, owner of a store, government official, business executive, farm owner, plant manager, etc.)
6. Craftsman (carpenter, electrician, plumber, mechanic, etc.)
7. Service (fireman, policeman, armed services enlisted man, barber, cook, hospital attendant, waiter, hairdresser, etc.)
8. Operative (machine operator, bus driver, factory worker, delivery man, postman, etc.)
9. Sales (salesman, agents, brokers, advertising, etc.)
10. Other (Specify: _____)
11. Don't know

[34]

30. How religious are your parents?

1. Very religious
2. Fairly religious
3. Not religious

[35]

31. How religious are you?

1. Very religious
2. Fairly religious
3. Not religious

[36]

32. What is the racial composition of the school you are currently attending?

1. All or nearly all black
2. Majority black
3. About half black and half white
4. Majority white
5. All or nearly all white

[37]

33. What was the racial composition of the last school you attended?

1. All or nearly all black
2. Majority black
3. About half black and half white
4. Majority white
5. All or nearly all white

[38]

34. How many of your classes this year have black students?

[39]
1. None
2. One
3. Two
4. Three
5. Four
6. Five or more

35. Thinking of your 5 best friends, how many of them are white?

[40]
1. None
2. One
3. Two
4. Three
5. Four
6. Five

36. About how much of your free time at school is spent with black students, as compared to white students?

[41]
1. Most time spent with black students
2. Most time spent with white students
3. About half and half

37. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the opportunities you have for meeting and associating with members of the opposite sex at your school?

[42]
1. Strongly satisfied
2. Satisfied
3. Dissatisfied
4. Strongly dissatisfied

38. Which of the following describe the values most important to you?

		Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
[43]	a. Being friendly to people even if they do things against your own beliefs	1	2	3
[44]	b. Standing up for your own rights	1	2	3
[45]	c. Working hard to achieve academic honors	1	2	3
[46]	d. Developing physical strength and skill	1	2	3
[47]	e. Always telling the truth	1	2	3
[48]	f. Being careful with other people's property or money	1	2	3
[49]	g. Repaying people for being kind to you	1	2	3
[50]	h. Living your religion in your daily life	1	2	3
[51]	i. Demanding and getting the respect you deserve	1	2	3
[52]	j. Being independent and original	1	2	3

39. How important is it to you to do the following things in your life?

		Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
[53]	a. Achieve financial success	1	2	3
[54]	b. Find personal happiness	1	2	3
[55]	c. Make a contribution to knowledge	1	2	3
[56]	d. Engage in the performance or creation of works of art	1	2	3
[57]	e. Have the means and time to enjoy the pleasures of life	1	2	3
[58]	f. Be of service to others	1	2	3
[59]	g. Become a leader in government	1	2	3
[60]	h. Have a good family life	1	2	3
[61]	i. Change the world for the better	1	2	3

40. Do you sympathize with the Black Panthers?

[62]
1. Yes, with their goals and with their way of achieving them.
2. With their goals, but not with their way of achieving them.
3. With neither their goals nor with their way of achieving them.
4. Not sure.

41. If you could be in any school you wanted, how many teachers would be white?

[63]
1. None
2. Less than half
3. About half
4. More than half
5. All
6. Don't care

42. If you could be in any school you wanted, how many students would be white?

[64]
1. None
2. Less than half
3. About half
4. More than half
5. All
6. Don't care

43. Do you agree or disagree with the following descriptions of the relations between the racial groups at your school?

		Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
[65]	a. They avoid each other	1	2	3
[66]	b. They treat each other fairly	1	2	3
[67]	c. They like each other	1	2	3
[68]	d. They learn from each other	1	2	3
[69]	e. They fight each other	1	2	3
[70]	f. They try to put each other down	1	2	3
[71]	g. They tolerate each other	1	2	3
[72]	h. They try to understand each other's problems	1	2	3
[73]	i. They pretend no differences exist when they do	1	2	3
[74]	j. They are suspicious of each other	1	2	3
[75]	k. They treat each other as individuals rather than as members of groups	1	2	3

44. Do you know of any incidents this year where there was open hostility between a black student and a white student?

[76]
1. No
2. Yes, one
3. Yes, several
4. Yes, many

45. In general, would you say most of the white students you have met in this school have been friendly, unfriendly, or indifferent?

[77]
1. Friendly
2. Unfriendly
3. Indifferent

46. In general, would you say most of the black students you have met in this school have been friendly, unfriendly, or indifferent?

[78]
1. Friendly
2. Unfriendly
3. Indifferent

1 2 3 4 5 6

3

THE FOLLOWING ARE STATEMENTS WHICH SOME PEOPLE AGREE WITH AND OTHERS DISAGREE WITH. FOR EACH ONE, INDICATE WHETHER YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE OR ARE NOT SURE BY CIRCLING THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree
[07]	47. They expect too much of me at this school.	1	2	3	4	5
[08]	48. Most white persons are sympathetic with the black people's problems.	1	2	3	4	5
[09]	49. Too many white students in this school are prejudiced against blacks.	1	2	3	4	5
[10]	50. In our country the white people will probably never allow the black people to get full equality.	1	2	3	4	5
[11]	51. Black and white persons should not intermarry.	1	2	3	4	5
[12]	52. Most black people should live in black areas.	1	2	3	4	5
[13]	53. Most whites should live and work in white areas.	1	2	3	4	5
[14]	54. In general, the demonstrations and rioting in the cities has helped the black people's cause.	1	2	3	4	5
[15]	55. Black and white people have to learn to get along with one another in school, work, and social life.	1	2	3	4	5
[16]	56. Most white people I've known are prejudiced against the black people, even though they may not actually show it.	1	2	3	4	5

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree
[17]	57. Most black people I've known are prejudiced against the white people, even though they may not actually show it.	1	2	3	4	5
[18]	58. People who accept their condition in life are happier than those who try to change things.	1	2	3	4	5
[19]	59. Good luck is more important than hard work for success.	1	2	3	4	5
[20]	60. Every time I try to get ahead something or somebody stops me.	1	2	3	4	5
[21]	61. Even with a good education, I'll have a hard time getting the right kind of job.	1	2	3	4	5
[22]	62. I sometimes feel that I just can't learn.	1	2	3	4	5
[23]	63. I would do better in school if teachers didn't go so fast.	1	2	3	4	5
[24]	64. People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life.	1	2	3	4	5
[25]	65. The teachers here are pretty much set in their ways and you can't talk to them.	1	2	3	4	5

66. Do you have a roommate?

1. Yes
[26] 2. No

67. If yes, what is his race?

1. Black
2. White
[27] 3. Mexican American
4. Oriental
5. American Indian
6. Puerto Rican
7. Other

68. How often do you go home (or plan to go home)?

1. Every weekend
2. Once or twice a month
[28] 3. Major holidays
4. Almost never
5. Summer only

69. Would you like to go home more, less, or about the same?

1. More
[29] 2. Less
3. About the same

70. Would you like to go away from school more often, less often, or about the same?

1. More
[30] 2. Less
3. About the same

71. Before you came to prep school, were any of your friends black?

[31] 1. Yes 2. No

72. Before you came to prep school, were any of your friends white?

[32] 1. Yes 2. No

73. When you go home, do you visit your old friends?

[33] 1. Yes 2. No

74. After vacations or visits home, do you find it difficult to re-adjust to school?

[34] 1. Yes 2. No

75. Some students report problems relating to old friends when they go home to visit. Which of the following best describes these for you?

		Is this true for you?		Is this a problem for you?	
		yes	no	yes	no
[35,36]	a. I feel uncomfortable around my friends.	1	2	1	2
[37,38]	b. My friends feel uncomfortable around me.	1	2	1	2
[39,40]	c. My values are different than those of my friends.	1	2	1	2
[41,42]	d. My interests have changed.	1	2	1	2
[43,44]	e. I'm not accepted.	1	2	1	2
[45,46]	f. I have difficulty communicating.	1	2	1	2

76. Some students report problems relating to their family when they go home to visit. Which of the following best describes these for you?

		Is this true for you?		Is this a problem for you?	
		yes	no	yes	no
[47,48]	a. I feel uncomfortable around my family.	1	2	1	2
[49,50]	b. My family feels uncomfortable around me.	1	2	1	2
[51,52]	c. My values are different from my family's.	1	2	1	2
[53,54]	d. My interests have changed.	1	2	1	2
[55,56]	e. I'm not accepted.	1	2	1	2
[57,58]	f. I have difficulty communicating.	1	2	1	2
[59,60]	g. My parents seem narrow in their outlook on life.	1	2	1	2
[61,62]	h. My parents don't seem to be in control of their own lives.	1	2	1	2

77. On the whole, how favorable are you towards the ABC scholarship program which places students in boarding schools?

[63]
1. Very favorable
2. Somewhat favorable
3. Not favorable
4. Not sure

78. Do you have any friends who have criticized you for going to a private school?

[64]
1. Yes, many
2. Yes, a few
3. No

79. Would you say that the students you have met in boarding school work more, less, or about the same on their subjects as students you knew before starting boarding school?

[65]
1. More
2. Less
3. About the same

80. How do you feel about the strictness of your school in the following areas?

		Too Strict	About Right	Not Strict Enough
[66]	a. Lights out	1	2	3
[67]	b. Visiting with persons of opposite sex	1	2	3
[68]	c. Use of motor vehicles	1	2	3
[69]	d. Dormitory rules	1	2	3
[70]	e. Dining regulations	1	2	3
[71]	f. Unauthorized absences from dorms	1	2	3
[72]	g. Unauthorized absences from campus	1	2	3
[73]	h. Chapel attendance	1	2	3
[74]	i. Permission to leave school for the weekend	1	2	3
[75]	j. Permission to leave school for the day	1	2	3
[76]	k. Supervision of study hours	1	2	3

1	2	3	4	5	6
					4

THE FOLLOWING ARE STATEMENTS WHICH SOME PEOPLE AGREE WITH AND OTHERS DISAGREE WITH. FOR EACH ONE, INDICATE WHETHER YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE OR ARE NOT SURE BY CIRCLING THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree
[07]	81. Sometimes when I go home, an old friend or member of my family makes fun of the mannerisms I have acquired in boarding school.	1	2	3	4	5
[08]	82. When I talk to my friends back home, they don't know what I'm talking about.	1	2	3	4	5
[09]	83. At home I feel free as a bird, but at school I feel trapped in a cage.	1	2	3	4	5
[10]	84. Since I've gone to boarding school, I've found that the world is much more complicated than I used to think.	1	2	3	4	5
[11]	85. I think a person who goes to prep school has a much better chance to examine his ideas than the person who attends public school at home.	1	2	3	4	5
[12]	86. I wouldn't recommend this school to any of my friends.	1	2	3	4	5
[13]	87. You can talk your head off to the teachers here, but they just can't understand what you're talking about.	1	2	3	4	5
[14]	88. I really enjoy the academic competition here.	1	2	3	4	5

			Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree
[15]	89.	I don't like to participate in sports because I don't like to represent the school.	1	2	3	4	5
[16]	90.	I sometimes feel that I have cut myself off from my community.	1	2	3	4	5
[17]	91.	When I was in school back home, I valued friendships more than I do now.	1	2	3	4	5
[18]	92.	I feel guilty about being here when there are so many others who have to stay in public schools.	1	2	3	4	5
[19]	93.	The teachers here are very interested in helping the students.	1	2	3	4	5
[20]	94.	People back home expect so much of me that I can't let them down by not doing well in school.	1	2	3	4	5
[21]	95.	Students who are here on scholarship don't have a right to make demands on this school.	1	2	3	4	5
[22]	96.	Sometimes I am disgusted with people back home because they just don't know how to think for themselves.	1	2	3	4	5
[23]	97.	Since I've begun boarding school, I've become less religious.	1	2	3	4	5

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree
98. [24]	The only way I get through each day is knowing that vacation is one day closer.	1	2	3	4	5
99. [25]	I can't talk naturally here the way I could at home.	1	2	3	4	5
100. [26]	I think I'm in a better position to control my future now than if I had stayed in public school.	1	2	3	4	5
101. [27]	At school I often feel that most other students have values and morals which are different than mine.	1	2	3	4	5
102. [28]	I can't act the way I'm used to because it upsets the other kids here.	1	2	3	4	5
103. [29]	If I had it to do over, I would choose to come here again.	1	2	3	4	5
104. [30]	I think I'm getting a better preparation for college than I would have if I had stayed in public school.	1	2	3	4	5
105. [31]	Many other students in this school do not respect my values and morals.	1	2	3	4	5

ANSWER QUESTIONS 106 THROUGH 127 ONLY IF YOU ARE A BLACK STUDENT.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree
106. [32]	I feel a responsibility to educate the whites while I'm here.	1	2	3	4	5
107. [33]	I feel like I'm always on exhibit here.	1	2	3	4	5
108. [34]	You have to play the role of a white at this school in order to get through.	1	2	3	4	5
109. [35]	Living in a white society at prep school makes me much more aware of my blackness.	1	2	3	4	5
110. [36]	Sometimes I don't ask questions in class because I don't want others to think all blacks are dumb.	1	2	3	4	5
111. [37]	One thing that bothers me is that all black students at this school are expected to be "Super Blacks".	1	2	3	4	5
112. [38]	Everytime I sit down to write they want me to write about how it is to be black.	1	2	3	4	5
113. [39]	My racial and cultural background has hurt my chances for success.	1	2	3	4	5
114. [40]	If I left this school, I would feel that I was giving in to the whites.	1	2	3	4	5

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree
115. [41]	I feel guilty because I'm not more militant.	1	2	3	4	5
116. [42]	I'm tired of being around white folk all the time.	1	2	3	4	5
117. [43]	My relationships to other black students at school are a bigger problem for me than my relationship to whites.	1	2	3	4	5
118. [44]	I really miss a black atmosphere here.	1	2	3	4	5
119. [45]	I don't feel close to any of the white kids here.	1	2	3	4	5
120. [46]	Sometimes I resent black students who are "black" around blacks, but different around whites.	1	2	3	4	5
121. [47]	Many white students refuse to accept me as an individual but consider me a representative of all black people.	1	2	3	4	5
122. [48]	You lose something of your blackness when you go to a prep school.	1	2	3	4	5
123. [49]	During the past year I have personally experienced prejudice.	1	2	3	4	5
124. [50]	Too often I am discouraged from expressing myself on black themes in class.	1	2	3	4	5

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Dis-agree	Strongly Disagree
125. [51]	Living in a white society at prep school makes me much more aware of my blackness.	1	2	3	4	5

126. How adequate was the ABC Summer Program as a preparation for private boarding school?

1. Helped a great deal
2. Helped a little
3. Made no difference
4. Hindered a little
5. Hindered a great deal

[52]

127. Should ABC continue to place students in private boarding schools?

1. Definitely yes
2. Probably yes
3. Probably not
4. Definitely not

[53]

COMMENTS:

APPENDIX F-2

NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO COMPLETED THE ABC ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

Spring 1971

125 Black ABC Seniors in Independent School
138 White Control Group Seniors in Independent School
103 Black Control Group Seniors in Public School

Fall 1971

135 Black ABC Sophomores in Independent School
130 White Control Group Sophomores in Independent School
137 Black Control Group Sophomores in Public School

Spring 1972*

49 Black ABC Seniors in the Public School Program
53 White ABC Students in Independent School and the Public School Program
62 American Indian ABC Students in Independent School and the Public School Program
83 Puerto Rican ABC Students in Independent School and the Public School Program

1,015 TOTAL

---

*Alternate forms of the questionnaire were filled out by white, American Indian and Puerto Rican ABC students.

APPENDIX F-3

QUESTIONS USED IN CONSTRUCTING ATTITUDE INDICES
(Students were asked to agree or disagree)

NAME OF INDEX: Fatalism Index

REFERRED TO IN REPORT ON PAGE 138 AND FIGURE 41.

QUESTIONS:

1. They expect too much of me at this school.
2. People who accept their condition in life are happier than those who try to change things.
3. Good luck is more important than hard work for success.
4. Every time I try to get ahead something or somebody stops me.
5. Even with a good education I'll have a hard time getting the right kind of job.
6. I sometimes feel that I just can't learn.
7. I would do better in school if teachers didn't go so fast.
8. People like me don't have much of a chance to be successful in life.

NAME OF INDEX: Racial Separatism Index

REFERRED TO IN REPORT ON PAGE 149 AND FIGURE 44.

QUESTIONS:

1. In our country the white people will probably never allow the black people to get full equality.
2. Black and white persons should not intermarry.
3. Most black people should live in black areas.
4. Most whites should live and work in white areas.
5. Black and white people do not have to learn to get along with one another in school, work, and social life.

NAME OF INDEX: Alienation Index

REFERRED TO IN REPORT ON PAGE 161 AND FIGURE 48.

QUESTIONS:

1. At home I feel free as a bird, but at school I feel trapped in a cage.
2. You can talk your head off to the teachers here, but they just can't understand what you're talking about.
3. I don't like to participate in sports because I don't like to represent the school.
4. I sometimes feel that I have cut myself off from my community.
5. When I was in school back home, I valued friendships more than I do now.
6. The only way I get through each day is knowing that vacation is one day closer.
7. I can't talk naturally here the way I could at home.
8. At school I often feel that most other students have values and morals which are different than mine.
9. I can't act the way I'm used to because it upsets the other kids here.
10. Many other students in this school do not respect my values and morals.